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V.
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NOVEMBER, 1907.



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HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES.

THE INDIANS AND ABORIGINAL RUINS NEAR CHACHAPOYAS IN NORTHERN PERU.

(Explorations made in 1893 under the patronage of the late
MR. HENRY VILLARD, to the memory of whom
this monograph is respectfully dedicated.)

The town of *Chachapoyas* is the capital of the Department of *Amazonas*, in northern Peru. It lies in latitude $6^{\circ} 13' 40''$ South, longitude West $77^{\circ} 50' 45''$, and at an altitude of about 7,600 feet.¹ The climate is mild², the only disagreeable feature being its great humidity. Vegetables of the temperate zone grow there as well as the plantain, the orange, and the *chirimoya*. Chachapoyas lies on a small plateau, from every direction one must ascend to reach the town. (Plate I a.) Tall cacti of the columnar species are very common, so are the palta³, lucuma⁴ and other trees bearing edible fruit. In the narrow gorges into which the western section of the Department of Amazonas is rent, the *Palo de Balsa*⁵ looms up in stately beauty, and in clefts of the environs of *Levanto*, three leagues from town, arboriferous ferns appear by the wayside. The steep slopes encasing valleys are clad in monotonous emerald-green. This hue is due to grass only on the highest ridges, everywhere else shrubbery and timber people declivities. The trees are loaded with parasitic *bromeliæ*. This section of Amazonas is a labyrinth of clefts of enormous depth, at the bottom of which limpid streams rush, or meander, to the *Marañon* river. About ten miles northeast of Chachapoyas lie the salines of *Bituya*, of great importance once to the isolated Spanish colonist.⁶ At present, salt is still exported to the coast in reasonable quanti-

ties. Gold has been taken out of the quartz-rock at *Santo Tomás de Cuillay*,⁷ twenty-three miles south of Chachapoyas towards the Marañon. There is the usual talk about mines, more or less rich, and desultory prospecting is going on. To the North and East begin the dense forests of the Amazonian basin, with streams expanding to marshes during the rainy, contracting to rivers and creeks in the dry, season. The *Rio Huallaga* divides the Department of Amazonas from that of Loreto, the Peruvian extreme limit towards the Atlantic.

Animal life is more visible in this section of the eastern slope of the *Andes* than further South, on the declivities of the Bolivian ranges. When scarcity of rainfall during winter-months sets many plants temporarily at rest, deadening the brilliancy of foliage without always causing leaves to fall, insects and reptiles retire into the sod for sleep. The larger vertebrates then appear more numerous because they leave their lurking places in quest of food. This so-called dry season lasts a few months only. Already in August thundershowers occur and the traveler, caught by night on the arid seashore along which he must travel some distance before striking for the interior, is surprised at the sight of lurid lightning to the eastward. It rains in the Sierra, and the fiery writing in the clouds indicates to him the whereabouts of the Peruvian mountains.

As soon as the first heavy rains set in in September, and thunderstorms begin to chase each other, reptiles again appear on the surface. The great bushspider leaves its subterranean resting-place. Butterflies flit over pools and watercourses. A toad, the dweller of dense thickets, announces its presence by a cry sounding like an anvil stroke in a still night. Every foot of ground teems with life, often painfully felt, and the air swarms with stinging diptera. The eye admires the luxuriant vegetation and the dazzling colors of large winged insects; the naturalist enjoys searching for undiscovered types and observing familiar species. But human comfort longs for a less animated and less troublesome period of the year.

Among vertebrates *man* is, perhaps, least numerously rep-

PLATE I.

ENTRANCE TO CHACHAPOYAS.

a.



b.



VALLEY OF UTCUBAMBA.

TO VISIT
AMSTERDAM

resented. The census of the republic of Peru is, as yet, incomplete, and this is very excusable considering the vastness of the country and the thinness of the population. There are no wild Indians in the neighborhood of Chachapoyas. The Aguarunas, the nearest roaming tribe, shift through forests further north.⁸ They are alternately friendly or hostile, according to impulse and opportunity, and their numbers are much smaller than is supposed.⁹ Towards the Huallaga other tribes appear. The nomenclature of the roaming clusters of Indians is still very confused.¹⁰

The majority of the sedentary population of Amazonas and of the vicinity of Chachapoyas in particular, is composed of village-Indians speaking the *Quichua* idiom, or general language of the aborigines in the Peruvian highlands. In pronunciation, the Chachapoyas Indians soften consonants, changing P into B, T into D. Thus "Pampa" sounds "Bamba," "Suntur," "Sondor" or "Shundur." R turns into L, as in "Leymebamba" instead of "Raymipampa," "Malca," in place of "Marca." This softening of consonants in the Quichua is noticeable both south and north of Cuzco and of the range of the Aymará idiom in southeastern Peru and northern Bolivia. South of the Aymará is a Quichua-speaking population as far as northern Argentina. Whether the hard pronunciation of consonants in the Cuzco Quichua (including Puno and Ayacucho) and the Aymará confining with it, is due to original relationship or simply to contact, is not ascertained.

While the present Indians of Chachapoyas are Quichua, it is not certain whether that language has always been spoken in the region or not. There are local names inexplicable by Quichua alone. The etymology of the word Chachapoyas itself is in doubt.¹¹ A short journey from Chachapoyas there is a ruin called to-day *Aymará-Bamba*, meaning "plain (or level) of the Aymará." There are also names of localities, derived from a tongue of which no trace is left. *Kuélap*, *Camdshian*, *Macro*, are neither Quichua nor Aymará. Legends about the past of Chachapoyas preserved in Spanish sources and from purported Inca tradition, are very indefinite about the tribes that inhab-

ited it in the fifteenth century and before.¹³ When the Spaniards obtained their first foothold in Chachapoyas (or *Chiachapoyas*, as it was written sometimes in the earlier periods¹⁴) after a preliminary visit in 1535¹⁵, they settled at Levanto, calling it San Juan de la *Frontera*. It was afterwards transferred to the site of the Chachapoyas of to-day.¹⁶

Levanto is the first aboriginal name from the region, (that of Chachapoyas excepted,) which I find mentioned. Later on, names of Indian chiefs appear who conducted the fruitless resistance of the natives against the Spaniards. Among these we notice *Guaman* (Huaman), a common personal name in *Quichua*, *Guayamamil*, *Guaquemila*, *Guayamil*, and *Ygaméta*.¹⁷ If these are correctly reported, they would not seem to belong to the Quichua idiom. Neither is it certain, that they are *personal* names. Local names have, in early times, not seldom been applied to prominent individuals through misunderstanding. Of local names mentioned, *Quita*, *Longuá*, *Charasmal*, *Coxcon*, *Hasallao*, *Tonche*, *Chillao*, and *Baguá*, are not all Quichua.¹⁸ Hence the country of Chachapoyas was once inhabited by a tribe or tribes, that belonged to a stock different from the Peruvian mountaineers, their western neighbors.

As in the case of all other sections of Peru, Chachapoyas was raided upon by the Inca, but regarding Inca conquests on the eastern slope of the Andes there is considerable confusion and contradiction. The most likely interpretation of the nebulous statements seems to be:—that in the course of the fifteenth century a descent was made by Inca warriors upon the upper valleys of the Marañon and a little beyond. The first foray was unsuccessful but, upon renewing the attempt, the Inca succeeded in gaining a foothold and some of the inhabitants moved or were removed to the vicinity of Cuzco.¹⁹ On the peninsula of Copacavana in Bolivia, there is a place called Chachapoyas, and Indians from the coast, from *Huacho*, north of Lima, were called Chachapoyas also.²⁰ The "*Colonies*" planted by order of the Inca dwindle to small groups that, either of their own accord or by compulsion, changed their place of abode.²¹

PLATE II.

RUINS OF MACRO.

a.



b.



INDIAN HOUSES AT SUTA.



There are traces of irruptions and occupation by tribes from the Sierra. The ancient buildings at *Pumacocha* are built after a different plan from that met with further East. There, dwellings are mostly circular, whereas at *Puma-cocha* they are quadrangular. The masonry is good, but the work at *Kuélap*, though as well done, is not Inca work. The settlers at *Pumacocha* and *Leymebamba* were *Quichua*,²² and may have come from the region of *Cajamarca*. *Leymebamba* is said to have been occupied before the Inca visited the country.²³ Of the Inca roads spoken of by *Cieza* (and others after him) there is not the slightest vestige.

The Indians around *Chachapoyas* live in villages, their houses are of stone, adobe, and, in the warm and partly timbered valley bottoms, of wood. The roofs are mostly of thatch with gables at a high pitch. (Plate II *b*.) The form of ancient dwellings was round, with conical roofs, and at a pueblo called *Jalca* there are still circular houses of stone in actual use. Some of these are said to be two-storied and hence appear like towers.²⁴ The costume of the men is of dark blue woollen cloth, coarse, and consists of trousers, wide and somewhat similar to those worn by the *Aymará* Indians to-day, a coarse white shirt, and a dark-blue jacket or the poncho. Around the head, men invariably wear a red cotton handkerchief, and sometimes a straw hat over it, but usually the handkerchief alone, folded so as to resemble a night-cap.²⁵

Women dress in the same dark blue or black woollen material, which they spin, and weave on primitive looms.

There was (in 1893 when I made my visit to *Chachapoyas*) a general complaint among the few whites and mestizos, against the tenacity with which the Indians clung to ancient customs and especially against their mode of tenure of lands. The holdings were, then, communal and the areas very large. Thus the village of *Suta* (south-south-east from *Chachapoyas* towards the *Marañon*) had not over two hundred inhabitants and owned twenty square leagues! Much of this is of course pasture in the high and cold *Jalca* or *Puna*, still the obstinate refusal of the Indians to sell or lease ground which they are not able to use

themselves, is regarded as an impediment to progress. The fairly settled part of the Department where the city of Chachapoyas is located, has not very much arable land. The soil is rich but the surface so cut and cleft that comparatively little of it is capable of cultivation. Nearly every valley is occupied by Haciendas and these valleys are exceedingly narrow. East of Chachapoyas the forests begin, and slopes at Levanto, Tingo, and vicinity, are covered by thickets that oppose serious obstacles to cultivation. At an altitude of ten thousand feet the summits of the heights called *Kuélap*, *Incupuy*, etc., are still densely overgrown.

Among the various statements made to me concerning landed tenure in Amazonas there is one indicating a feature which is not primitive. I was told that every family could alienate the land assigned to it, and that abandonment thereof for any length of time did not invalidate the title. This, if true, would be a first step towards the dissolution of the communities, in accordance with laws passed in Peru after its separation from Spain.²⁶

The village authorities were (always speaking of the time when I visited the country) a *Gobernador*, appointed by the Sub-Prefect (who is the highest officer of the *Province*) confirmed by the Prefect or superior authority of the *Department*; a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Sub-Prefect and for whom confirmation by the Prefect was not required. Disputes to be decided by law of each pueblo were committed to Justices of the Peace appointed by the higher tribunals. Finally, each pueblo had its "*Regidores*" or councilmen elected by the people, and really the only officers chosen by Indians or Mestizos. In religious affairs a *Cura* administered sometimes as many as four villages, each of which had its *Fiscales* who cared for the maintenance of edifices and the collection of tithes and dues.

The Chachapoyas Indians are of course nominally Roman Catholics. But they still preserve a great many rites and customs from primitive times. I did not see any of their dances, but was assured that the dancers performed with their faces painted, or wearing various masks, and having rattles of deer-

hoofs and turtle-shell. Others appeared in the garb of savages from the forests.²⁷ That they celebrate the usual feast-days I saw at the village of *Suta*, and noticed that my presence (purely accidental) was as undesirable to them as it had been years ago in some of the New Mexican pueblos, when they celebrated a special dance of old. Of sorcery belief and the practice of sorcery I heard a great deal.

While at the village of *Tingo*, eleven miles south of Chachapoyas, I visited a number of Indian houses. They were mostly of stone and adobe with a roof of thatch, but some of them were also built of canes. There was usually but one room and the floor was of mud. In case there is a partition (of canes), the main space is used for sitting, working and, sometimes, as dormitory. A platform of canes or sticks served as bedstead.

The scanty furniture was scattered over the floor or shoved into corners. The door had wooden hinges. In the wall facing it was a niche, with the image of the patron saint having before it a bowl or cup of gourd (*mate*) or of clay, or a small bottle-shaped gourd. This was the case in every house but one. On examination of these vessels I found that they were filled with *wheat*! The ancient drum or large tambourine I noticed in every dwelling.

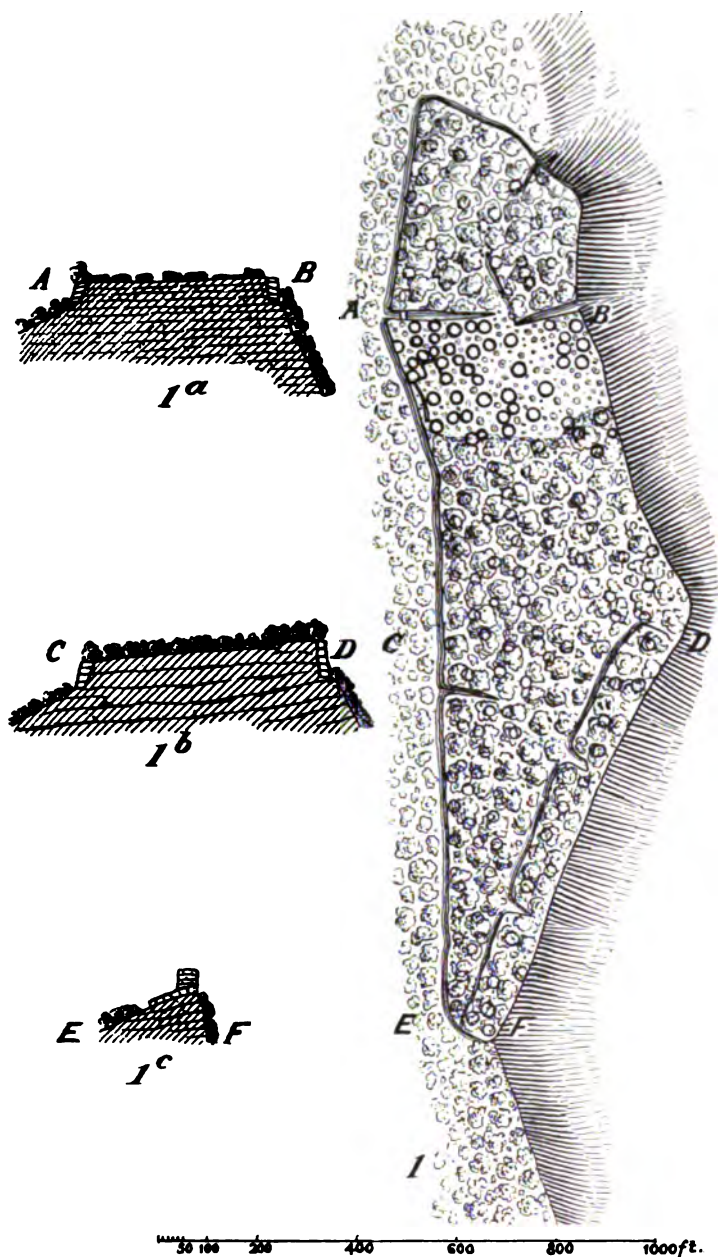
At this village of *Tingo* witchcraft plays an important part. A current term among the people in general, used to designate the Indian medicinemen is: "*Herbatero*." In other parts of Peru and Bolivia "*Herbolario*" is used. Both (Spanish) terms signify the same, namely: one who handles *herbs*.²⁸ By "handling," the use of plants for healing and curing is meant. The medicinemen in Amazonas cure mostly with vegetable remedies, of which the rank vegetation furnishes many. Still I have been assured by physicians that the number and importance of these Indian herbs is much exaggerated. Witchcraft is, of course, at the bottom of almost every Indian "cure." The medicinemen or Shamans, use much white and yellow *cornmeal*! They sprinkle and rub it over the body of the patient. While engaged in this, they constantly smoke tobacco, and this weed, together with *Coca* and a plant called *Shayr*, are their

chief remedies. The "Shayr" is said to be extremely narcotic and is sprinkled in every direction to purify the air. At least this is the interpretation of the process by Mestizos and whites. The word "Shayr" is suspiciously like the Quichua "*Sayri*" for *tobacco* and it might be, that thereby the wild, indigenous plant (growing in Amazonas) is meant, to distinguish it from the cultivated plant.²⁹ Coca or tobacco, sometimes both, are placed under a stone, near to the place where excavations are to be performed, as a propitiatory offering. It is also a charm against the "*Purumachos*." By this name they designate the skulls of their predecessors or ancestors. Dread of these human remains is very great among the Mestizos who claim that the "*Purumachos*" only hurt *them* and not the Indians. I observed this more than once. It is a belief found also among the Aymará and Quichua of Peru and Bolivia, only that among the Aymará the apprehension is not confined to the *cholos* (as half-breeds are generally called). The offering of coca and tobacco, preliminary to excavations, corresponds to the "*tinka*," without which no attempt at excavation in Bolivia would be considered safe or profitable by the Indians.

It was stated to me, that there are three classes of vegetable medicines in use and that the generic name for them is "*mishya*." One of the three is called *toyo* and proper to the forest Indians. The other is the justly dreaded *uar-uar*, or red *datura*, the effects of which, when taken in small doses, are said to be tonic, whereas in larger quantities it creates imbecility or insanity. The *uar-uar* or *datura sanguinea* (*chamico* in Aymará) is used all over the Peruvian and Bolivian highlands, secretly of course.

Wizards or Shaman are called "*bruja camajni*." This word appears to be composed of two languages: the Spanish "*bruja*" and the Quichua "*camani*," to make, or to create. These medicinemen are for good as well as for evil. When anybody has been hurt by falling, or by striking a rock, or when he falls ill at some particular spot, the Shaman takes soil from that spot or breaks off a piece of the stone, mixes its powder with alcohol, coca, tobacco and other substances, and rubs it

PLATE III.



GROUNDPLAN AND CROSS-SECTIONS.

KUÉLAP.



over the body of the patient, having first rubbed with it his own hands. Then he summons the evil spirit to which the accident is attributed, shouting: "*Shamu Quish-Quish Ix!*" The same custom, with slight variations, obtains among the Bolivian Aymará, and the spirit is addressed as "son of a dog!"²⁰ "Quish-Quish" is the exclamation by which dogs are often called in Chachapoyas.

The Shamans, as on the highlands and on the Peruvian coast, make frequent use of a species of *owl* (called *talaqua*) for incantations. The bird is looked upon as a messenger, mostly of *sinister tidings*. It also supplies the sorcerer with charms²¹ intended to do harm. When a turkey-buzzard (*gallinazo*) strikes with its beak at a door, it is said to announce death in the family.²²

Owing to almost constant rains, I could remain in the province where Chachapoyas lies, only forty-five days, and it was not possible, in so short a time, to secure more than fragmentary information. Of this nature is the statement that at the pueblo of *Colcamar* in the vicinity of Chachapoyas, Indians still dress in a more primitive manner. Some of the men wear the hair long and flowing, tied by a ribbon only. Their trousers are short and open on the sides. They recall the breeches of the Aymará of Bolivia, and are called *eslabones*.²³ Some of the women also wear long hair, and both sexes cover the head with the red cotton handkerchief only, discarding the straw hat. On feast-days, women have a silver key dangling from their hair.

I found the Quichua Indian of Chachapoyas surly and disagreeable. In this he resembles the Bolivian Aymará, and mountain Indians in general; those living in the neighborhood of Cuzco perhaps excepted. A few years previous to my visit, a Mestizo by the name of *Villacorta* had fomented an insurrection that threatened to become a war of races. After a partial success of the Indians at Leymebamba (obtained through treachery), they were easily overcome by Peruvian forces from the Sierra, notwithstanding their great advantage in numbers and positions. The punishment of the rebels was

utterly inadequate, and this contributed to make the Indians more haughty and defiant whenever authorities were not on the spot. The complaint on that score was general in Chachapoyas, even among those who had instigated the uprising. Villacorta was never really chastised, and died a few years ago in full possession of his (mostly ill gotten) property.

These fragmentary notices of the present Indians of southern Amazonas should properly be followed by a sketch of the aborigines as they were in pre-Columbian times. The information thus far accessible to me is exceedingly meagre, so that it is almost unworthy of mention. According to official data from 1591, the tributary Indians of that region, at the time of the viceroy Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués of Cañete (1590 to 1596), numbered 7155, representing a total of about 25,000 inhabitants. This did not include the eastern districts roamed over by forest tribes, nor the settlement of *Moyobamba*.⁸⁴

As already stated, there are traces of an Indian population in western Amazonas that *may* not have been of Quichua stock. Allusions have also been made to names hinting at Aymará roots. Without attempting to trace these resemblances any further I would recall that there is, on the peninsula of *Copacavana* in Bolivia, a site called Chachapoyas, the Indians of which speak Aymará.⁸⁵ The Indians of Leymebamba are called *mitimas* or *foreigners* in the sixteenth century!⁸⁶ Such suggestions should not be lost sight of when the idioms of that region once undergo thorough investigation.

Limited, by lack of documentary sources, to whatever testimony the aboriginal ruins could afford, I begin at the farthest point north (vicinity of the capital), retracing my steps south to the Marañon, and thus covering the small area I was able to examine.

East or north of the capital I heard of a number of ruins which I was unable to visit. I was told of ruins at *Cam-Djian*.⁸⁷ They were described as a cluster of circular stone-houses, on a tall crest covered by dense timber. Stone mortars and other implements are said to be scattered among the débris, and the large mortar or round grinding-plate (Plate IX *b*) is

said to have come from the place. At *Yauh-Can*²² there is another ruined village. In the vicinity of the capital I heard of *Quid-Ji-Jic*. At the salt-deposits of *Bituya* also ruins are said to exist. I saw, near Levanto, a structure irregularly polygonal, and built of stone fairly cut and laid. Like everything in ruins that exhibits a more careful construction in western South America, it is said to be "Inca."

One of the causes that led me to visit Chachapoyas had been that, in 1892, glowing accounts appeared in Lima (from official sources) of the ruins of *Kuélap*! It is not my habit to run after the sensational, but the reports furnished reasons for visiting a region then still of difficult access, and comparatively little known. I used *Kuélap* as a pretext for reconnaissance of the country. Arriving at Chachapoyas, my intention was recognized by the authorities as legitimate (an important point, as the Peruvian government had just promulgated a senseless decree on antiquarian research, which was put in execution *only against me*, and has not been heard of since) and I gratefully record here the kindness and friendship of the Prefect of Amazonas, the late Don José Alayza, of his secretary Don Leopoldo Pérez, and of the Sub-Prefect Don Manuel Arce. Were I to mention everybody to whom I am indebted for hospitality and efficient aid at Chachapoyas, among officials as well as among residents (like Don José Revoredo for instance), the list would be an extended one. I left Chachapoyas for *Kuélap* on September the fourteenth, 1893.

I descended into the narrow and long gorge of the *Ucubamba* stream (Plate I *b*), tributary to the Marañon. The bottom is covered with beautiful vegetation and cultivated in part. On both sides rise stupendous heights; sometimes naked cliffs, again slopes, overgrown with timber, or with shrubbery beginning to display countless blossoms. Above the timbered zone rose the cold Puna or "Jalca," where the potato has its home. In the bottom, sugar-cane and coffee are occasionally seen, oranges and other tropical fruit grow in profusion. Three distinct zones of vegetation may be surveyed by the eye glancing upward for thousands of feet.

We skirted the steep slopes for several hours, and descended again into the gorge, at the *Sargento*, a group of huts constructed of canes and timber, where coffee was raised, as far as the very limited extension of the bottom allows. Trees and rank undergrowth cover every spot not constantly cleared. In the timber are a few shapeless heaps, barely noticeable, that may have been small houses, terraced garden-beds (*andenes*), or buttresses for holding the ground on the slope.

Of the ruins of *Macro*, a short distance only outside of the village of *Tingo*, I shall treat hereafter. Leaving Tingo and crossing the river to its western bank, a very steep and long ascent began, on a slope almost denuded, rocky, and sheer in many places. The glance down to the river brought on vertigo. This ascent took two full hours. On the summit we lost sight of the river and descended into a timbered basin with some cultivated patches. Above it rises a tall ridge supporting a Mesa covered with forest and lined by a high stone-wall. This wall, that looks almost cyclopean from a distance, is part of the ruins called *Kuélap*. The Indians, however, call them "*Malca*," a corruption of *Marca*, signifying house in Quichua, a village or settlement in Aymará. Many also apply to it the Spanish term *muro* or wall.³⁹ This Mesa is (according to Raimondi) 3072 meters or 10,076 feet above sea level. The altitude of Chachapoyas having been determined at 2328 meters or 7735 feet, it follows that the ruins lie 2300 feet higher than that town or over 4000 feet above the Utcubamba river.⁴⁰ As I afterwards noticed, they are plainly visible from the trail between the Marañon and Chachapoyas.

In the basin at the foot of this ruin-crowned height stands the small wooden house of the Hacienda. The timber near by covers other ruins, round structures of stone, some of which we excavated, securing a few broken mortars and pestles, and pot-sherds crudely decorated, resembling the black and white and red and black ware so common in small-house ruins of New Mexico. This place is called *Lirio*. The word may be Spanish and designates lilies or *Amaryllis*, as there are many in the timber and of very striking size and hues. It is certainly

PLATE IV.

THE HEIGHT OF KUÉLAP, FROM THE SOUTH.



a.



b.

EASTERN ENTRANCE AND WALL, KUÉLAP, FROM THE OUTSIDE.

TO THE
LIBRARY

not Quichua; at least not originally. A number of Spanish terms have crept into that language, but I have not heard that word among them. The primitive settlement at "Lirio" appears to have been of very moderate size.

A long slope, tedious to ascend, leads from the Hacienda building to the main ruins, to which (as stated) the names of "*Kuélap*," "*Malca*," and "*Muro*" are variously given. I am inclined to believe that the first is the true one. But there is no certainty. The name is applied to the *Hacienda* in the fifth decade of the eighteenth century.⁴¹ In the census of 1591, "*Conilap*" and "*Conlap*" appear, with the numbers of tributary Indians in each place.⁴² *Conila* lies near *Luya*, nine miles (air-line) west of Chachapoyas, hence it is probably the "*Conilap*" of 1591. The other is mentioned in connection with Levanto and might stand for *Kuélap*.⁴³ If so, then the place had 113 tributary Indians, or nearly four hundred inhabitants. It is very doubtful if, at that time, there was still a settlement on the Mesa.

I heard a story according to which *Kuélap* was inhabited at the time of the first arrival of the Spaniards. But the general trend of tradition goes to indicate that the ruins are those of a village abandoned *before* that time.

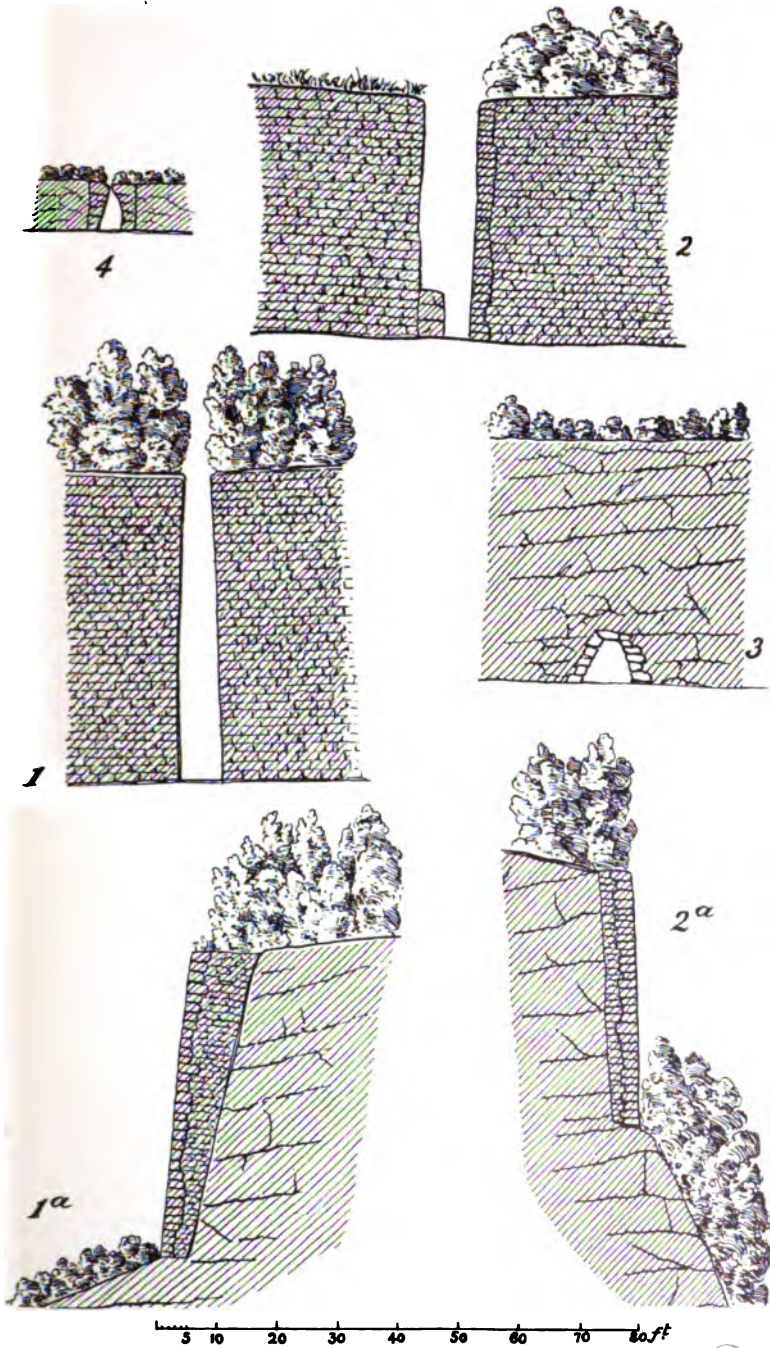
We are told also, that the people of *Kuélap* were at war with those of Levanto and *Huanca*, and constantly at a disadvantage, until they reared great walls. After that they held their own. An Indian from Tingo, a very aged man, told me, that the inhabitants of "*Malca*" were *sorcerers* called "*Ualqui Shaos*," and that from the pueblo of *Quemia*, situated fifteen miles to the west of south near the Marañon, there came a powerful wizard, a "*Chimal Ualqui*," who in one bound leaped to the top of a steep height called *Incupuy*, a short distance south of *Kuélap* and with ruins of ancient buildings. A second bound landed him in the gorge of *Sicach*, at the southern base of *Malca*, whence he jumped to the top of the Mesa, where the people were fast asleep with their feet extended. He killed them all with a hammer. This is like genuine Indian folklore. I heard no tradition connecting the ruins with the Inca.

The tendency of these tales aside from the one stating that "Malca" had been taken by the Spaniards, is, that Kuélap was already abandoned at the time of the conquest. Considering the nature of the place and its commanding position, mention would surely have been made of in early Spanish reports, had it been occupied in 1535 or later.

The height of the ruins above the Hacienda is given by Werthemann at about seven hundred feet. As stated, the bluff is plainly seen from the trail to Chachapoyas. By trail I mean the official "road" to that town, from the banks of the Marañon. Although that "road" lies nearly four thousand feet lower and is five miles away, with towering crests intervening, still the ruins of Kuélap rise above them.

The annexed plan and sections (Plate III) convey an idea of the form and dimensions of this bluff. It is an irregular trapezoid, the greatest length, from north to south, being nineteen hundred feet, and the greatest width (from east to west) five hundred feet. The sides of this "Mesa" are vertical. On the east its height varies between fifty-one and twenty feet, the greatest elevation being from *D* to *B*. Towards the southern end the wall lowers considerably, also towards the northern where, at *F*, it terminates in an angle on which stands a quadrangular tower-like structure. The surface inclines from west to east, and both on the northern and southern thirds of it an upper tier of rocks rises on the western half of the surface. Both tiers of the Mesa are so densely overgrown with timber that I had to cut my way through it. The trees are covered with parasites, shrubs obstruct every step, and stout creepers form almost impenetrable networks. With the assistance of Indians, I penetrated this labyrinth of vegetation in many places and in every direction. Aside from thorny and poisonous plants, my Indians only seemed to fear the tiger-cat, on account of its irritability when surprised. The puma is said to haunt the Mesa occasionally, and we noticed its approach at night several times, but during my stay at the ruins (which lasted seven days) a few birds were the only vertebrates seen. While, after the rains have once fairly set in, the forest is said to teem with

PLATE V.



70 VINI
ABSCILLAO

noxious insects, ticks alone were bothersome and large red ants, that more than once urged me to a change of base for my theodolite. At Lirio, in the course of excavations, a pair of huge bird-spiders (*mygale*) came to light along with pot-sherds, and caused lively scattering of my companions, showing that the little monsters are no favorites of the people.

This bluff is a natural fortress. (Plate IV *a*.) The western slope of the ridge is exceedingly steep; descent and ascent are equally laborious and not devoid of danger. It is covered with the same kind of forest as the platform, and descends for more than a thousand feet to a bottom where a stream of permanent water is running. This gorge is called *Sicsij*, and is but a very deep gash, like all so-called "valleys" in that region. I copy from my journal of September 16, 1893:—

"The spot is a place of safety, well fitted for observation, as it overlooks vast stretches consisting of the usual labyrinth of narrow and deep *Quebradas*, steep slopes and wooded or bare crests. Not a sharp peak in any direction. A wilderness of ridges and gorges, here and there patches of fields and lonely huts."—

The western face of the bluff (Plates III and V, 1 *a* and 2 *a*) is girded, like the other sides, by a wall. Its elevation at *B* is thirty-nine (39) feet and it slopes gradually to both the northern and the southern end-points. So, the mass of the rock is protected by a *stone plating* of varying height and having a perimeter of 4100 feet, of which 1840 belong to the eastern, 1800 to the western face, and 366 to the southern, while the northern end runs almost to a point. This wall is not a circumvallation; it is built against, not on, the rock and consists of an outer armor made of fairly cut parallelopipedons of stone of unequal sizes, about three feet thick, behind which is a filling of rubble two to three feet wide at the base and two to eight feet at the top. The whole represents as many as 760,000 cubic feet of masonry.

The reasons for covering the sides of a large bluff with an armor of masonry were two-fold. First, to prevent scaling of the Mesa; next, to prevent disintegration of the cliffs by

rain. The face wall is carefully laid, and a thin seam of mud originally bound the blocks. In places this has been washed away by torrential rains that would have endangered portions of the Mesa or cliff, in course of time.

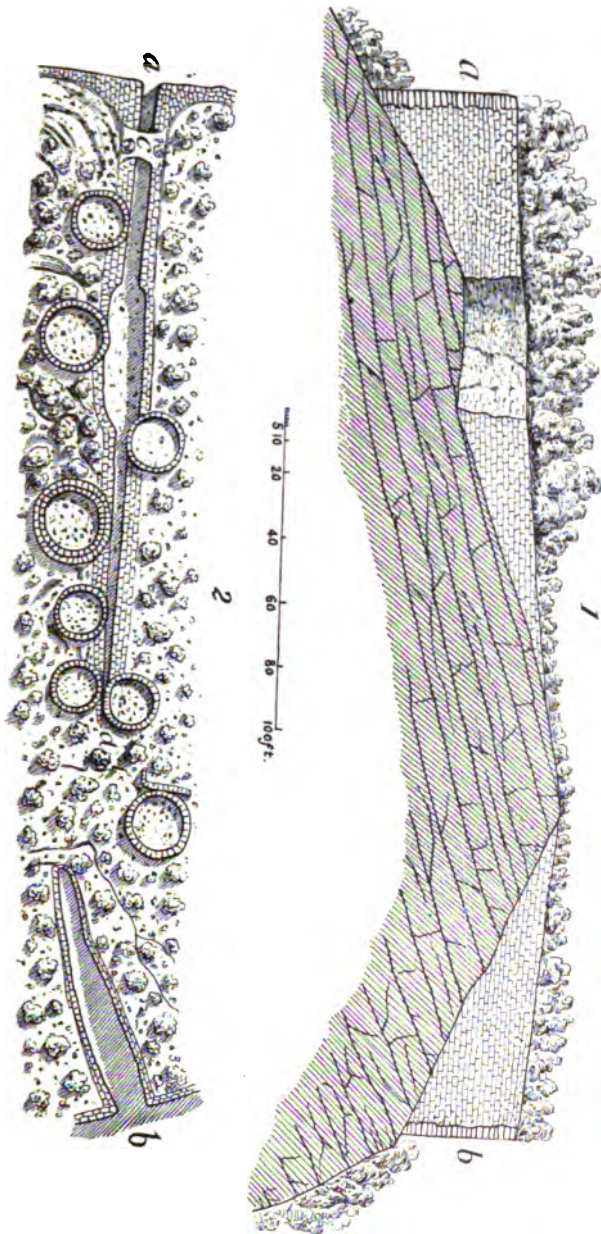
Thus, with its top rendered almost inaccessible, the Mesa still required places or contrivances for ascent. These were supplied by nature. At *A* on the eastern face, a deep cut enters the body of the bluff extending into it westward for a distance of 202 feet. This natural cleft forms a narrow and rapidly ascending passage. At *A* (Plate III, and *a*, Plate VI) it is 48 feet deep, while 202 feet beyond it emerges on the surface of the platform. Nearly opposite, at *B* (Plate III, and *b*, Plate VI), a similar cut penetrates from the west for about 112 feet; 39 feet deep at the western entrance and issuing on the platform 50 feet from the eastern passage, so that there are two narrow inclined planes cutting through the Mesa. Both are naturally uneven, and now partly obstructed by *débris*, and partly by vegetation that has encroached everywhere. A similar cut, also natural, into the eastern side of the bluff, opens at *C* (Plate III), but it is short and less deep. Hence the platform can be reached by a general ascent at two points from the east, and at one place from the west. It may also be gained from the northern end, but with considerable difficulty (*E*).

The passage *A* is of varying widths. (Plate IV *b*.) At the entrance and for sixty-four feet inwards, it is eight feet at the base, tapering to four above; then follows a widening for fifty-eight feet, due to decay; the remainder begins with a width of four feet and tapers to the upper exit where the artificial walls meet at the top, forming a low gateway (Plates VI, 1; V, 4).

The entrance from the west is ten feet wide on the face, narrowing gradually (Plate V, 2, and VI, 2) towards the upper end.

Both passages are lined by walls similar to those facing the bluff (Plates V, 1, VI and VII). At the upper end the eastern passage was originally closed. A trapezoidal doorway,

PLATE VI.



to vnu
anxotlao

six feet high, eight feet at the base and a little over two at the top, was cut through the rock and lined with masonry. (Plate V, 3.) The passages are natural fissures, lined by stonework, to arrest the damaging effects of erosion.

The surface of the Mesa is, as already stated, uneven and undulating. These undulations could not be more than indicated on the plan, as they are buried in dense timber. The general dip is from west to east, but there is also one from north to south. Besides there is, as mentioned, an upper tier of rocks, of varying height. North of the entrances a quadrangle (Plate III) has been cleared on the Mesa for about thirty feet in width. On this area, the buildings may be studied with less difficulty.

As indicated by tradition, Kuélap was not simply a place of refuge in case of danger: it was permanently inhabited and a fortified village, its natural strength having been artificially increased. Houses are scattered all over the Mesa. In the cleared space I located forty, and as far as I could examine the timbered sections, there must be nearly three hundred dwellings more. This would give, for the tribe living at Kuélap, a population of not over two thousand souls, or six hundred warriors. That number of Indians could become formidable, in an almost impregnable position. I was told of a tradition according to which Kuélap mustered 11,000 men at arms in its wars with the Indians of *Huanca* and *Levanto*, but this statement, aside from coming from a source that inspired no confidence,⁴⁴ is absurd on the very face.

The dwellings on Kuélap were *circular* structures of modest dimensions (Plates III, VI and VIII), the exterior diameter of those I measured varying between 20 and 29 feet. (See plans.) Their walls, of broken stone laid in mud, rarely are more than 18 inches in thickness. No trace is left of roofs. These houses are mostly reduced to a circle rising but a few feet above the ground. They stand isolated as well as in clusters of two or three (Plate IX a). Excavations uncovered rude floors of pounded earth with slabs of stone occasionally imbedded. The soil on the platform is very thin and no under-

ground chambers may be looked for, since the Indian had no means to remove solid rock.

I also measured circular structures that stand on a massive base. One of these bases was six feet above ground and had an outer diameter of 28 feet. On it rose the dwelling proper, measuring 24 feet across, outside. Another had a base four feet high, but its diameter was 50 feet and that of the upper structure 28 feet. Adjacent to this were two smaller circles, measuring respectively 16 and 19 feet across, that appeared like annexes. In these buildings and about them, we found rude mortars of stone, pestles, deer prongs, and sherds of the type already mentioned. Also fragments of flat grinding slabs or handmills, like those in use all over the western coast of Peru. Not a trace of metal or stone-implements, no flint nor obsidian. The existence of stone-axes was mentioned to me, but no specimen shown. It is more than likely that by investigating the ruins covered by timber (which I could not do owing to prohibition) many artefacts will come to light. The forest tribes of Amazonas (like most forest-Indians of Peru and Bolivia) have stone-axes to-day,⁴⁵ and it is almost certain that sedentary tribes possessed them also. Everything of perishable material had disappeared. Around the rims of the solid bases of houses a ring of projecting plates forms a rude cornice (see diagrams). In dense timber on the northern half of the platform, I was led to a group of circular buildings, one of which had a cornice made of a mosaic of lozenges. (See Plate X, *b*.) The stonework on that building (the perimeter of which was but little different from that of the others) was as well done as any on the great walls, and I saw a few others that displayed equally fair workmanship.

In my excursions through timber and thickets I nowhere saw any structure that appeared to be for ceremonial purposes. I found one rectangular house, very small, and another (exceedingly rude) with rounded corners. The tower (at *F*, Plate III, and Plate VIII, 4 and 4 *a*) is a quadrangular, measuring 24 by 25 feet, but a solid mass; it appears, from

PLATE VII.

EASTERN PASSAGE, LOOKING TO UPPER EXIT.



EASTERN PASSAGE, LOOKING EAST.

its position, to have been a lookout. I would observe that the terms "circular" and "rectangular" are to be understood as approximations only. The houses are never accurately circular, and the tower is but an approximate rectangle.

The tower (3, 3 a, 3 b, Plate VIII) stands, as said, on an eminence in the forest, and vegetation on its top is low, so that a good outlook over the ruins can be obtained from it, not as extensive, however, as from the one at *F*, Plate III. It is a truncated cone, inverted, its diameter at the top being 46, at the bottom 40 feet, and the height 15 feet. It recalls in shape the towers of *Sillustani* in southwestern Peru near Lake *Titicaca*. The mass of this building is rubble, and an armor of well cut and laid parallelopipedons of stone lines it to a thickness of two feet. Against this structure and leading to its upper level, is an inclined plane of earth. Fourteen feet inside of where that inclined plane reaches the top, an opening, over three feet square, gives access to a *bottle-shaped cyst* that goes down through the whole structure and even a few feet below. (VIII, 3 b.) It is like the bottle-shaped underground rooms for storage, found in the ruins of *Cajamarquilla* near *Lima*, also like the chambers in the *Sillustani* towers. This cyst is lined with very good masonry carefully done and the stones very close-fitting. In it water, from the rains that were then visiting the country, had collected. This chamber looked like a cistern, and the tower is so placed as to receive rain from every direction.

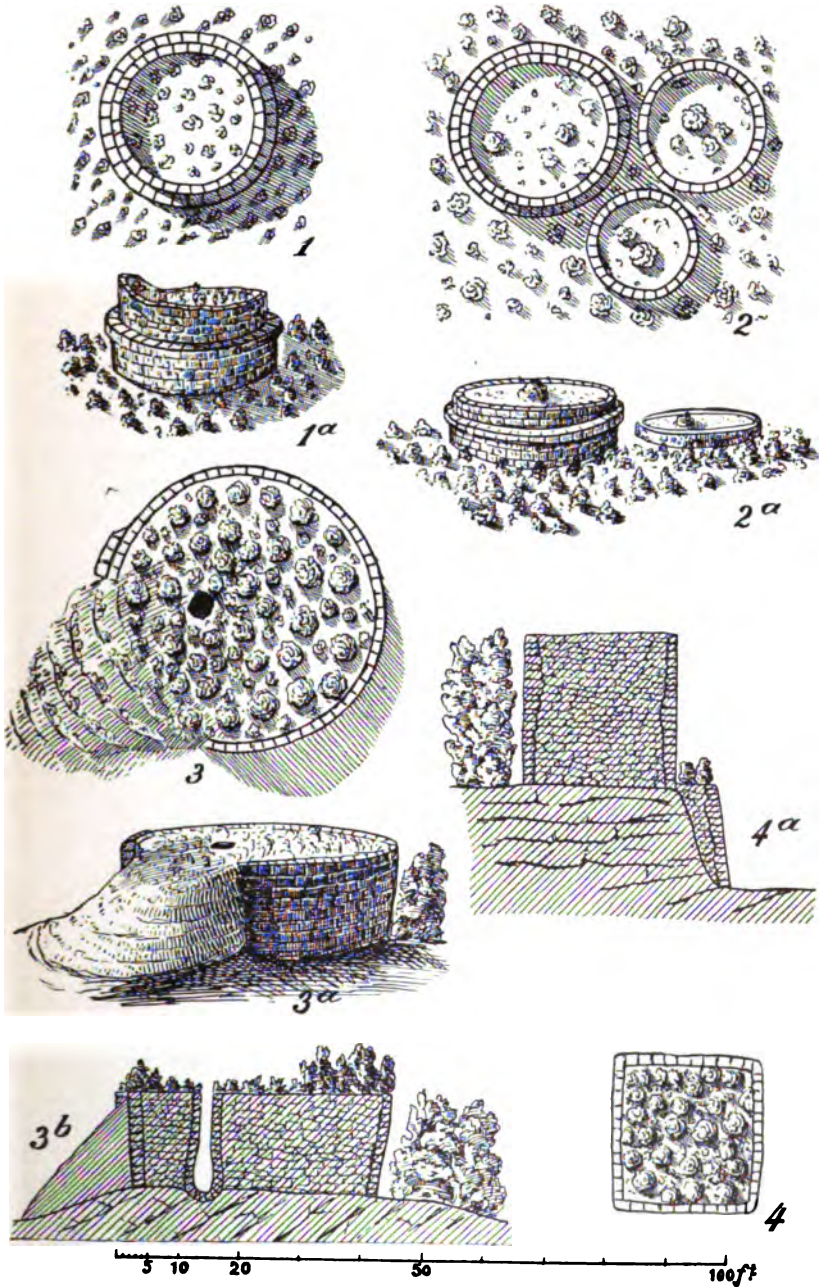
The annexed photograph not only gives an idea of the neatness of the masonry, but also a picture of the only carving of any kind I saw at the ruins. It represents the head of a man and, probably, even two heads, in relief. The figure (or figures) is very rude but has the merit of showing *the head-dress*. I have purposely placed my chief workman, the Indian Pedro Huaman from Tingo, alongside to show how much this headgear resembles that of the Indians of Chachapoyas of to-day. They are so strikingly alike as to arouse a suspicion that the carving might be recent? (See Plate X, a.)

The suggestion that this tower was perhaps a cistern leads

to the question of water-supply. As far as known in 1893, no permanent water had been found on the Mesa. The dense vegetation absorbs all moisture and no pools can form on the surface. Neither had any springs or sources been noticed. When Kuélap was inhabited, vegetation did not cover the plateau in such dense masses as to-day, and if the whole could once be cleared, tanks might perhaps be brought to light that, as at Acoma in New Mexico, held sufficient rain-water for the population. There is a small perennial stream running in the gorge of Sicsij at the western foot of the Mesa. Descent is difficult and long, still Indians make it, also whites and Mestizos when hunting, and it is neither steeper nor higher than the *Barranca* out of which the women of the village of *San Mateo Ozolco* in Central Mexico were wont to get the water for their households in 1881. Even if Kuélap (as the legend declares) was at war with neighboring tribes and occasionally hard pressed, this warfare did not and could not take the proportions of a lengthy siege. Repeated harassing raids, discontinued and resumed until a surprise or assault became possible, were the only military operations of which the natives were capable in primitive times. For months and perhaps years, the women from the Mesa might descend to Sicsij unmolested; again a hostile party might lie in wait for them and compel the people to fall back upon some store of water on the platform, until the enemy had been driven off or had withdrawn of his own accord. In these densely wooded ranges, ambushes and surprises (little practised on the barren highlands) were the principal tactics, as to-day among the shifting forest-tribes.

It is not likely that the Indians of the Mesa could practise tillage to any extent. There is hardly room for it. Hence it is probable that they raised their crops either on the slopes or in the valley. There is a group of round houses outside the great eastern wall and the ruins of Lirio may be those of dwellings occupied during planting and harvesting.⁴⁶ There are a number of circular buildings, single and in groups, scattered through the timber on slopes and crests near the

PLATE VIII.



TO THE
ABORIGINAL

ruins, but the settlement on the Mesa was the only large and compact one.

S.S.E. of the Mesa extends a lower ridge, overgrown with brush only and called *Shundur*. "Shundur" might be a corruption of *Suntur* or *Suntu*, meaning, in Quichua, a heap,⁴⁷ a name sometimes given to circular houses with conical thatch-roofs.⁴⁸ The governor of Tingo who accompanied me on the journey to Kuélap suggested this explanation. Although there is no timber on Shundur, ruins there are more decayed than those on the Mesa. They consist of about twenty round buildings like those described, and of a wall that runs along the lower end of the southern declivity from about E.S.E. to W.N.W. for over 1660 feet. At its eastern termination it turns to the northward and up the slope about 300 feet to the crest, on which the houses are grouped. Between the southwestern corner of Kuélap, and Shundur, there is a depression, and the wall of the latter is so placed as to protect the small settlement from the west, where an approach is possible along the edge of the gorge of Sicsij. That wall is reduced to little more than an abutment. Whether Shundur was an annex to Kuélap, an independent settlement, or one previously forsaken, it is not possible to decide. We found nothing to reveal its relative age and no artefacts beyond the usual pot-sherds.

The great walls of Kuélap are also beginning to crumble. In many places they bulge out, in consequence of disintegration. Rain is constantly washing out the mudseams between the courses and vegetation breaks through the wall or eats into fissures with roots and creepers. (Plate VII.) In the passages entering the bluff from the east, trees two feet in diameter have pierced through the masonry. Man has contributed to this destruction. In many places the front was torn open in search of treasure. This vandalism revealed, that all along the wall, as high as five or six feet from the ground, *burial niches* exist in it, closed by blocks of stone. I saw many of these niches and obtained human skulls and bones out of some. Everything else had been taken out, though I could not learn that anything except

human remains were ever found. I was not permitted to open any myself.

The niches were of various sizes and usually large enough for a squatting body. For the skulls, I refer to the adjoining plate as well as for the other artefacts obtained in the Amazonas region. (Plate IX, *b*.)

The governor of Tingo, Tuestas, told me that, when yet a boy, he saw the eastern slope of Kuélap covered with skulls and skeletons. This statement was made in support of an alleged tradition according to which the Mesa was inhabited, when Alonso de Alvarado first came to Chachapoyas and that the Spaniards, while besieging Kuélap, had died of hunger.⁴⁰ He also stated that, from the slope east of the ruins, a number of "mummies"⁵⁰ were taken. It is singular that, while human remains in the well protected niches have well nigh disintegrated, they should have remained intact in the thin soil of the slope for at least three and a half centuries!

Niche-burial, in the great wall lining the perimeter of the bluff, was therefore practiced by the people of Kuélap at least in the majority of cases. Lower down (as I shall soon have occasion to state) caves were used for the purpose. But around Kuélap there are no natural cavities nor have I heard of artificial ones. I can only surmise, from what I saw afterwards, that the corpses were placed in a squatting position and possibly sideways, as in many Aymará burials.

In one of the houses, something like a bench or seat of stone was discovered, a rude pile raised against one of the sides. In another a doorway, two feet wide, which had been walled up, showing that the abandonment of the building took place without haste or hurry. Most of the mortars and pestles were broken and some bottoms of vessels showed perforation, as if they had been "killed," as the New Mexican Indians do with pottery when out of use. The story related to me, that Kuélap was abandoned in consequence of an epidemic, may have originated from the skeletons which the governor of Tingo saw scattered over the slope, again it may derive some confirmation from the signs above mentioned, which in New

PLATE IX.

REMNANTS OF CIRCULAR HOUSES, KUÉLAP.



a.



b.

ANTIQUITIES FROM KUÉLAP AND VICINITY.

Mexico, would be construed as proving slow and gradual abandonment.

There is also a story afloat among the white and Mestizo inhabitants, that while the big wall was being constructed those who refused to work on it were immured alive. This is plainly a "Myth of Observation."⁵¹

It is manifest that Kuélap was a village of land-tilling aborigines who resided on the bluff for safety. This feature is not exceptional in that region, although Kuélap is the most striking example so far known. All or nearly all ancient ruins lie above the river bottoms, and more than one shows traces of a platform faced by masonry similar to Kuélap. The nature of the country obliged the native to dwell on slopes and crests. He could not clear the timbered bottoms with tools of stone or copper, and burning of the forest was of no avail; six months later everything was again covered with vegetation. Furthermore, the streams that water the valleys are torrents, subject to sudden and damaging rises. To escape from them, the natives *had to live* on slopes and crests.

It appears, from what little is at my command about the earliest Spanish expeditions into the Chachapoyas district, that its inhabitants were divided into independent tribes, some of which formed a confederation against the Europeans in the beginning. As long as there was no outside peril, these tribes warred with each other frequently.⁵² Hence security from aggression more than anything else determined the choice of a dwelling site.

Tales and traditions are very contradictory on the ultimate fate of Kuélap. The same aged Indian who related the story of the killing of its inhabitants by a wizard from *Quemia* also stated that the people had been exterminated by an epidemic! Not all, for at the same time he spoke of survivors who retired to *Conilo*, *Chiringote*⁵³ and *Santo Tomás de Quillay*! The place is not mentioned by name in any early document accessible to me, nor have I found any description that would recall even faintly Kuélap, or any statement leading to infer that the Spaniards saw it. So conspicuous an object, however,

could not easily escape notice, had it been inhabited in 1536.⁵⁴ Hence, I conclude (until otherwise informed) that the site was forsaken before any white men visited Chachapoyas.

Tree-growth on Kuélap is no criterion for the approximate date of abandonment. Trees, as well known, grow with great rapidity in the tropics.

I descended from Kuélap on another trail. Passing close to the steep height of *Incupuy* I could see the ruins on its top but not visit them. They appeared to be smaller than those of Kuélap and the buildings are said to resemble the latter in construction. But thundershower upon thundershower swept the region and it would have cost too much time and labor to cut the way through timber and thickets. Therefore I returned to Tingo, thence to visit the ruins scattered along the narrow gorge of the Uteubamba river.

At Tingo the heights recede from the river for a short distance, but soon close in again forming a narrow gateway with vertical rocks on the west, very steep declivities on the east, overgrown by thorny plants. On this side and about a mile down the river from Tingo, the ruins of *Macro* are seen from the trail. The annexed photograph is taken from the opposite bank. (Plate II, *a*.) The groundplan shows 21 circular houses (Plate XI, 1), built against a slope that is nearly vertical. (Plate XI, 1 *a*.) Measurements are exceedingly difficult. Some of the houses have the decoration found in the timber of Kuélap and represented on Plate X *b*, lozenges of mosaic work rudely executed. The size of the houses does not differ from those at Kuélap, Shundur, and Lirio, neither does their construction. *Macro* may have sheltered in the neighborhood of a hundred souls. Its elevation above the vale, and the perpendicular rocks in its rear, made an attack difficult, but it could easily be cut off from water. I copy from my journal of September 24, 1893:—"We passed along the river below Magdalena, after crossing the stream on the covered bridge. Sugar-cane in small patches, many orange-trees, and the usual huts.... then climbed slopes covered with a scrubby and thorny vegetation, then turned a high cliff and, after wind-

PLATE X.

a.



b.

ing around steep and rugged heights, stood in the sugar-cane patch on the right bank above which, on a very steep slope overgrown with cacti and other thorns, also with maguey, stand the three lines of round structures, the lowest of which is at an elevation of 195 feet above the river banks. It was hard work to climb this slope, every step having to be cut out. Upon arriving, found the ruins to be but three superposed rows of circular houses, some one story, others two stories high, exactly like those of Malca and the other ones so far seen by me. Plying themselves to the nature of the ground, the circular form has been preserved outside. . . . or several houses have been so joined as to present but a very slightly undulating front. All walls are well constructed and of the usual thickness of eighteen inches about. Little niches in the walls, no windows, but in one place an *Olla* walled in so as to serve as a niche, and a sculptured stone also sunken in the wall, representing the face and a part of a human body."

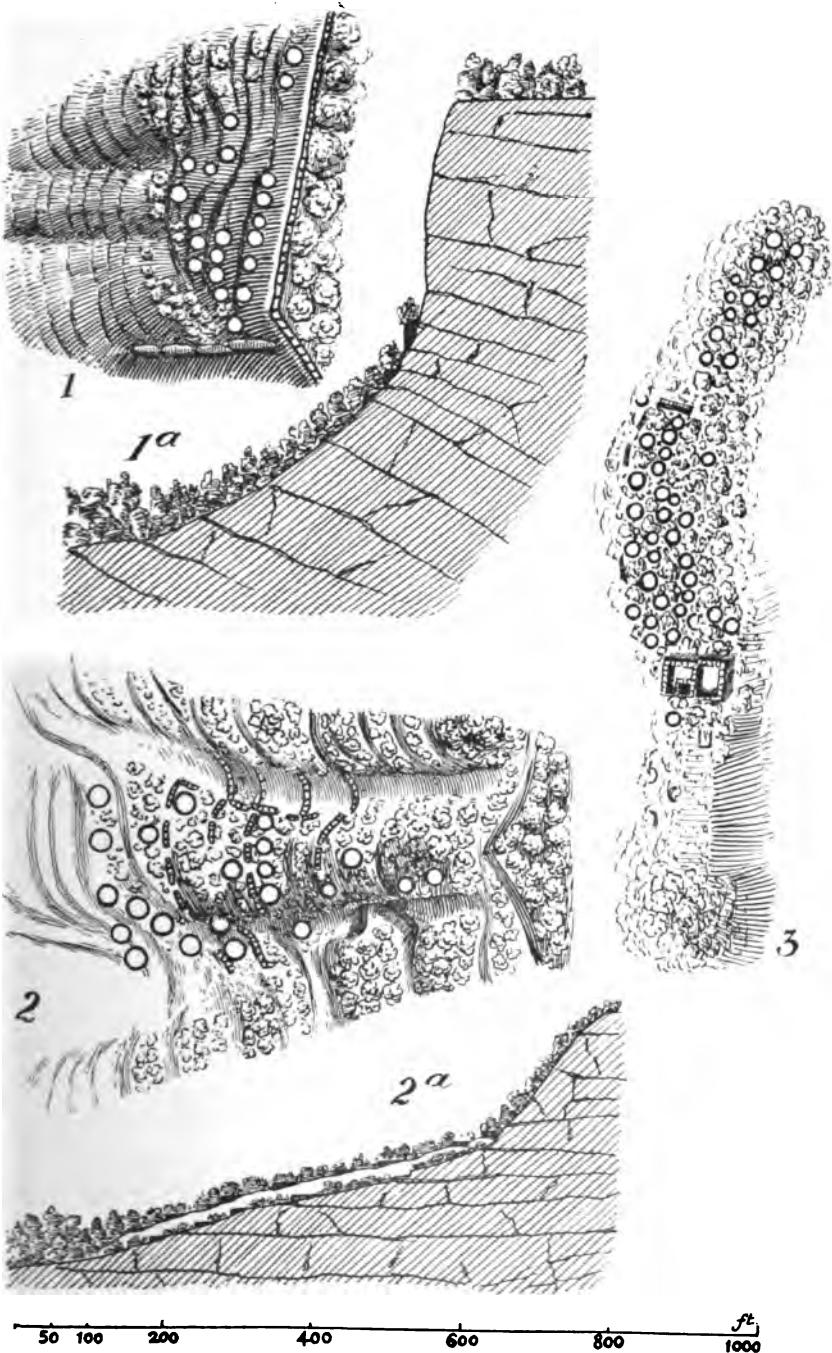
"Three of the houses of the uppermost tier have a rim of lozenge-shaped mosaic, but we saw nothing else of importance, not even pot-sherds. Some of the chambers are partly carved out of the rock and a thin wall of stone has been placed against the natural surface. The houses are clearly, in part, on a platform or basis which serves as substructure and foundation. . . . On the height on the opposite side of the river there are circular houses scattered, and going towards *Magdalena* we encountered several of the same description on the slopes towards the river and descending from the pueblo."

From Tingo I followed the Rio de Utcubamba again as far as the Sargento, where I remained four days, improving intervals between thundershowers for the examination of ruins in that neighborhood.

About a mile from the Sargento and above a cluster of modern huts bearing the unusual name of *Oclél*,⁵⁵ are the ruins of *Aymará-Bamba*. This name is interesting as meaning "plain of the Aymará." They rise on a gradual slope near the bottom (see Plate XI, 2 and 2 a) and contain about twenty round houses, some of which stand in a gulch forming the

northern limit of the old settlement. Across this, as well as across the southern gulch, dams or buttresses of stone have been erected recalling the dykes in the beds of the torrents of *Sonora* (northern Mexico) and there called "Banquitos." Most of the houses, however, stand on a ridge between both gulches. The highest part of the ruins is 185 feet above the valley. Here I saw a number of "Batánes"⁵⁶ and obtained a well made grinder. Pot-sherds were exactly like those at Kuélap, black and white, or without decorative lines.

One hour of tedious ascent above this ruin, on a narrow crest nearly a thousand feet above the bottom, buried in dense shrubbery, are the ruins to which the name of *Tshu-Shin* is given, but better known to the people as *Shivanu Cunga*. (Plate XI, 3.) The latter has one Quichua word in it: *Cunga*, which means a point or crest that can be passed, and is appropriate for the site. It seems to be the more recent name. *Tshushin* is *not* Quichua. I refer to the plan for an idea of the place. The circular houses, about forty in number, lie on a narrow and elongated plateau protected by a stone wall imitating on a small scale the wall of Kuélap. It is only about four feet high and built rather to prevent the soil behind from being washed away than for defense. In one place of this wall I saw a broken inclined plane, like those on the Peruvian coast at *Surco*, *Pachacamac* and *Chan-Chan* (Plate XII, 4). This double ascent, each section of which is about 14 feet long and five feet high (the first incline being lower than the wall) leads to the plateau on which the houses stand. At its southern end and somewhat below is an angular structure (see plate XII, 1) also of stone, better built than the round houses and suggesting Spanish origin by its court resembling a cemetery. It has a window and several niches, and in one of these I found the remains of what the people had told me was a "mummy." Only a few bones and shreds of dark blue cloth were left; the skull was gone. From their size they appeared to be the remains of a woman, and I gathered the impression that they were placed there *after* the abandonment of the place; perhaps for purposes of witchcraft. Of the past of this ruin which was a



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settlement twice as large as Macro and Aymará-Bamba, I could not learn anything; the people asserted that the quadrangular structure had been a church, a statement to which appearances lend some support. The pottery is identical with that of Kuélap and other points in the neighborhood. Tshushin is probably the place at which, I was told, copper-pins and copper-spoons had been found.

North of Tshushin and in plain view of it, but several hundred feet higher, some almost circular knolls cap a height densely overgrown, to which the name *Pucará* is given. "Pucará" is both Quichua and Aymará and designates a place of safety, not necessarily fortified or walled in, but any naturally strong position, inhabited or occupied. These ruins are indeed in a remarkably favorable situation for defense and observation. Not as elevated as Kuélap, they still command an extensive view and enjoy, besides, the advantage of permanent water. I could not, owing to a heavy thundershower, survey the entire place. The principal Pucára has still portions of "armor" against the rock; the stone-work is even better than on the big wall of Kuélap, and on the summit stand the remnants of some twenty round houses and of several quadrangular ones; also quadrangular enclosures connected with houses. (Plate XII, 2 and 3.) The second "Pucára" lies higher than the first and there one of the side-walls was entire. It measures 22 feet in length, is two feet high on the top, and five feet thick on one side. The number of houses is twenty also. Northeast of these, separated from them by a deep cleft, lies a third one on a ridge, and not far away are remnants of a circular wall. These four groups seem to have formed one cluster. The pot-sherds (which are the only artefacts I noticed) were of the same description as at Kuélap.

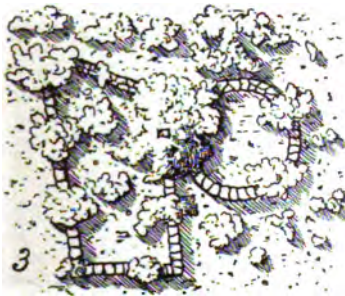
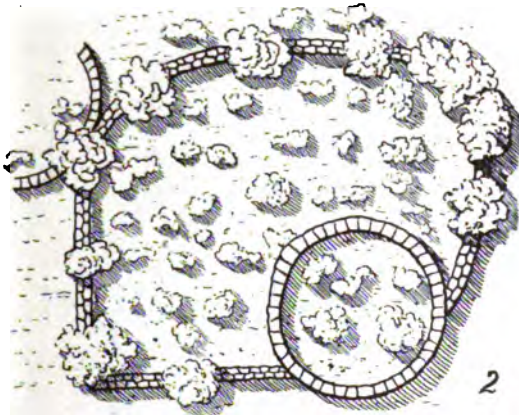
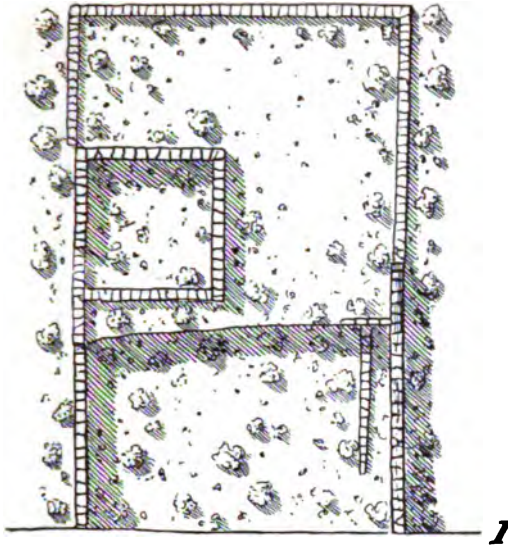
While at the Sargento, I heard of a "mummy" in a natural cavity near the bottom at Aymará-bamba. It was so decayed that the skull and shreds of the dress alone could be preserved. These shreds represent an outer envelope of coarse cotton similar to that of ancient coast-burials; a piece of dress, black and white; and a belt in two colors. Then I learned that this

vicinity abounds in natural cavities and crevices used anciently for burials. Most of them are very difficult of access and it is natural that the natives should have resorted to them. The bottom was timbered, slopes are constantly washed by torrential rains, so that holes in the rocks, crevices, and rents were the only places where bodies might be preserved. I am not certain, however, that the remains near Aymará-bamba are ancient. The textiles are too suspiciously like those from the coast. Should more be found it would perhaps indicate that the former inhabitants wore the same costume as those on the Peruvian seashore. I also obtained a few pieces of whole pottery, but they were, with one or two exceptions only, from the banks of the Marañon in the west. Two of them recall the plastic ancient coast pottery. One has a greenish glaze that may be due to subsequent heating. These jars were in private hands and had been used for household purposes for many years. It is not unlikely they suffered accidental re-baking. (Plate IX, b.)

I left Chachapoyas on October 11th. The weather allowed no further explorations and furthermore, I was called to the coast by important news.

While on my way to Chachapoyas in September, I had measured some ruins at *Chauar*,⁵⁷ between Leymebamba and Suta, which are much decayed. They appear to be walls of the type of those of Pucára, built against the slope of a wooded hill. No artefacts were seen. I mention them here, as the route which I took on my return deflected from the main road before reaching Suta. The party accompanying me, which the Prefect led in person, crossed the river at Lope-cancha to the west side and we spent the first night at the Hacienda of *Sumén* in a gorge covered by the usual vegetation. The vale is exceedingly narrow, and the fields of wheat, corn, and barley are mere patches. At Sumén I was shown a natural cavity high up on the opposite side, of which it was stated it contained "mummies." Here also, the tale of the abandonment of Kuélap in consequence of the coming of the Spaniards was repeated to me. Ancient remains were spoken of, chiefly caves and houses built against the rock, a statement borne out by the

PLATE XII.



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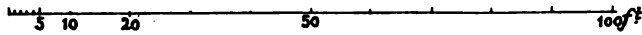
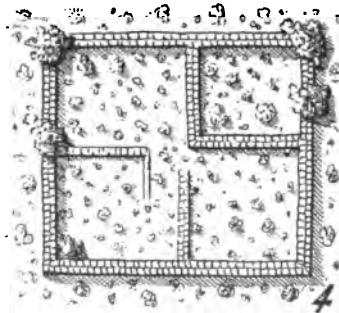
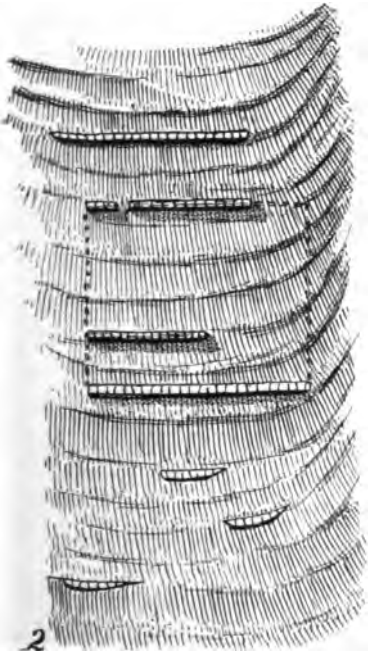
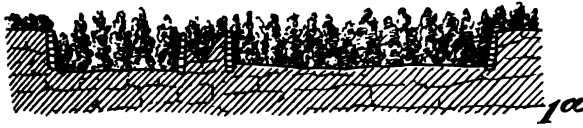
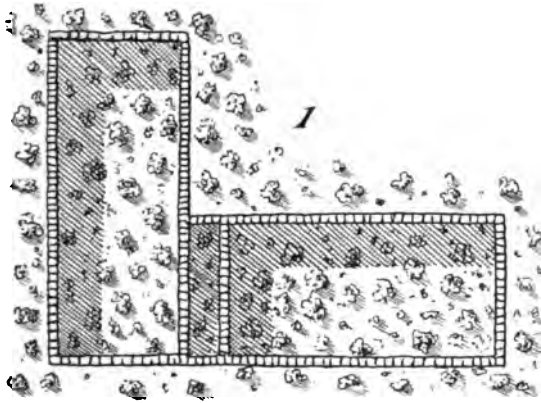
numerous cliffs looming up along the heights. Santo Tomás de Cuillay was said to be the place where caves formerly inhabited were best represented, and the Prefect insisted I should accompany him to some abandoned gold mines in that vicinity. Cuillay⁵⁸ lies on a plateau above a deep cleft and had, then, about a thousand inhabitants, mostly Indians; with a church, and some larger houses of stone and adobe, while the majority are huts. The caves were pointed out to me from the village; they are on the brink of a cliff opposite, and appear to number only a dozen close to each other. To visit them would have entailed more time than I could dispose of, better state of health, and less rain. We went to the so-called mines, some of which were old Spanish workings abandoned when the Spaniards were expelled from Peru. They were again worked for a short period, fifty years ago, by an Englishman, whom the people of the village drove away. Thirty years after, another attempt was made with native capital, which also failed. The gold is imbedded in quartz and the percentage so variously stated that I do not care to repeat it. From Santo Tomás I returned to the Marañon at Balsas by the way of *Gollon*, leaving the ruins at *Puma-Cocha* to the east. These ruins were said to be Inca. Their general aspect does not agree with that opinion, neither did they appear to resemble Kuélap. What I saw when coming to Chachapoyas was a little vale covered with fine grass and flanked by steep hills overgrown by ferns and low shrubbery. A limpid stream runs through the valley, and ruins are scattered on the brow of the lowest hills. They looked like quadrangular stone-houses with enclosures, the walls fairly constructed, but not of the nice-fitting masonry characteristic of Inca buildings. A low and shapeless mound stands in the bottom of the vale. Puma-cocha lies near the edge of tree-vegetation, and I gathered the impression that it had not been a settlement of much importance.⁵⁹ Dr. Midden-dorf visited Chachapoyas a few years previous to my journey to Amazonas, exclusively in quest of remains of the Inca, and I was assured that he returned disappointed, not having found any trace of Inca architecture. I obtained the same impression.

It is certain that the circular house or dwelling, of stone and mud, with its roof of thatch is used to-day.⁶⁰ The ruined dwellings at Kuélap and elsewhere were of the same type, hence the present Indians either copied the architecture of unknown predecessors or belonged to the same stock. The circular house is common on the old Puna of Peru and Bolivia and in the latter country it seems to be as old a type as the quadrangular. In Amazonas the quadrangular has superseded the round. Still, in central Bolivia, the round form is mostly given to out-houses or storerooms, to annexes of the dwelling proper.

My journey from Santo Tomás to Gollon had to be made across an angle of the Jalca or Puna, and in a tempest of rain, hail and sleet. We were constantly in a dense cloud. The storm subsided as we descended into the warm and handsome gorge where the Hacienda of Gollon stands. I heard of no ruins in that neighborhood. After crossing timbered clefts, we climbed a spur of the sides, where the trail runs along some of the most frightful precipices I ever saw. The walls are, for hundreds of feet, as sheer as masonry and the path often hardly wide enough for a horse or mule. I felt decided relief when these dizzy stretches were overcome and the crest of *Cachaconga*, also dangerous from disintegrating rock and abruptness, lay behind us. From its summit we saw again the chasm in which runs the *Marañon* river at least six thousand feet below.⁶¹ Descent to its banks at *Balsas* was made in four hours. We were on the regular road to the coast.⁶²

Balsas is a hamlet and, as the foregoing indicates, in a very deep gorge, on the banks of the muddy and swift *Marañon*. Its elevation above the sea being (according to Raimond) only about three thousand feet;⁶³ the climate is hot. Thorny plants prevail, tall *Cerei* being as abundant as on the upper *Yaqui* river of Sonora. I could not help recalling vividly the gorges of the *Yaqui* at *Durazo* and *Guassavas*, when I saw the thickets and arboriferous *Cacti* of this part of the *Marañon*, and the analogy is emphasized by temperature and scenery. On the north or Amazonas side, where *Balsas* stands, the bottom expands somewhat; on the other side there is barely room for cultivation,

PLATE XIII.





but it has an Acequia, although much less level ground. Near Balsas, coca of an inferior quality is raised. The Marañon runs through similar chasms for a considerable distance and there are few settlements on its banks as far as the *Pongo de Manseriche* (where it enters the Amazonian basin proper), more than two degrees north and about one degree east.⁶⁴ Although I heard of ruins in the long and deep cleft, there seem to be none of importance, which is also to be inferred from early descriptions. But I was assured that ruins existed in the immediate vicinity of Balsas, and therefore proceeded to examine them.

I found that none of the buildings resembled Inca work, but still it was superior to what I had yet seen in Chachapoyas, and rather resembled the so-called "church" at Tshushin. On the slopes are remains of ancient terraces and on the crests structures, quadrangular, and built of pieces of the hard granite with crystals of feldspar which is the rock in situ. I refer to accompanying plans and diagrams. (Plate XIII.) Immediately above the river is the depression (1 and 1 *a*, Plate XIII) similar to a double tank four feet deep and lined by a stone wall inside. The separation is by a double wall filled in with rubble and eight feet thick. The pot-sherds lying about the ruins resemble those at other places in Amazonas, but there is, besides, corrugated ware and some with decorations representing uncouth human and animal forms. The latter recall the plastic pottery which I obtained at the Sargento and of which I was told came from *Mendan*.

In regard to the age of these structures it is likely they do not antedate the period of the conquest by many years. It is stated on the authority of a priest who administered "Reque," a coast village, where one of the coast-languages was spoken in 1644, that the same idiom was used by the Indians of Balsas who were descendants of coast-Indians transferred to the Marañon not two hundred years prior to 1644, in consequence of the raids of the Inca upon their settlements.⁶⁵ Should this statement be otherwise confirmed it might be worth while to look for the origin of some local names along or near the Marañon,

among the coast languages of Peru. Names like *Tupeng*, *Mendan* and the like, do not seem to be Quichua. How far beyond the Marañon the reported "colonies" from the coast may have reached, I have not been able to ascertain.

I left Balsas on the twentieth of October, returning to Cajamarca leisurely in five days, heavy rains and delays of the pack train detaining me at Celendin for two days, during which it was not possible to do any work in the field. My trip to the Amazonas Department had been a reconnoissance only, which proved, that there is in that section of northern Peru a rich field for archæological and ethnological investigation. But, even if such investigations should be undertaken, their result will remain in doubt so long, until documents can be procured that contain much more detailed (while of course authentic) information about the Indians of Chachapoyas in their primitive condition than as yet known. Without the support of documentary information, the past of a people and its culture remain always a matter of conjecture, at least to a certain extent.

AD. F. BANDELIER.

New York City, February 12, 1907.

NOTES.

¹ Antonio Raimondi: *El Perú* (Tomo III, Libro II, Cap. XXVIII, page 529). Altitude, 2328 meters or 7636 feet. The figures are those of Mr. Werthemann, a German civil and mining engineer and long resident of Peru.

² Raimondi, *El Perú* (ut supra), mean annual temperature: 18,8° C. after Werthemann. Equal to 59,7° F. But I do not know the length of time the observations embraced.

³ Called in Mexico *Ahuacate*, *Persea gratissima*.

⁴ *Lucuma obovata*; see Raimondi, *Elementos de Botánica* (Lima, 1857. "Índice de los nombres vulgares.")

⁵ *Ochroma piscatoria* (Raimondi, ut supra).

⁶ Also called *Vituya*. Raimondi, *Perú* (Volume III, Lib. II, page 529). Altitude, 1963 meters or 6438 feet.

⁷ In the *Atlas del Perú* by Raimondi, fol. 12, the altitude of the village is given at 2891 meters or 9482 feet.

* *Atlas del Perú*, Raimondi, fol. 7, the Aguarunas are placed S. of the great bend of the Marañon, about in Latitude 4,30°.

* It is usual to exaggerate the numbers of Indians roaming in the forests. Their constant shiftings are the cause of this. I have, for instance, heard it gravely asserted, that the *Campas* or *Chunchos* numbered hundreds of thousands.

" It would not be easy, for instance, to identify many of the tribes mentioned by Tschudi, *Peru, Reiseskizzen aus den Jahren 1838—1842*, (Vol. II, pp. 222 et seq.) with the names of clusters of wild Indians named in the *Compendio histórico de los Trabajos, Fatigas, Sudores y Muertes que los Ministros evangélicos de la Seráfica Religión han padecido por la Conversion de las Almas de los Gentiles en las Montañas de los Andes, pertenecientes á las Provincias del Peru*. (Lima, 1852, by Father José Amich, J.S.

" *Chacha*, according to Tschudi, *Die Kechua-Sprache, Wörterbuch* (1853, page 232), means: "to shake the dust from clothes." For Chachapoya, while he mentions the word (p. 233), he gives no translation. Nor does Father Diego Torres Rubio, *Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua Quichua* (Lima, 1754).—In Aymará, *Chacha* means man or husband. See Father Ludovico Bertonio, *Segunda Parte del Vocabulario Aymará* (July 1612, fol. 68).—To-day, *Puyu* is used to designate a feather in Aymará and is so translated in the *Vocabulario de las Voces usuales de Aymará al Castellano y Quichua* (La Paz, 1894, page 17). There is hardly any comfort to be derived from these data. But there is a singular statement by Garcilasso de la Vega, in *Comentarios reales* (Volume I. I consult the Editio princeps published at Lisbon in 1609 with colophon from 1608, Lib. VIII, Cap. II, folio 198). He calls the Chachapoyas "*Chachas*" adding: "que tambien admitian este nombre."—*Chacha*, as stated, signifies *man* in Aymará. "*Puhuyu*" in Quichua, means cloud, mist, or fog. Garcilasso (fol. 197) also says that Father Blas Valera asserted Chachapuya to signify "place of strong men." Until otherwise informed I place no faith in this explanation.

" Only names of localities are given, without direct reference to any tribal appellative, the example recorded in the note preceding excepted.

See Antonio de Herrera: *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra firme del Mar Océano* (Edition of 1726, Vol. II, Década V, pages 74, 97, 172, etc.). But he also writes *Chachapoyas*.

" Herrera, *Historia general* (Vol. II, Década V, page 171), puts the date of 1535. In the *Primeros Descubrimientos y Conquistas de los Chachapuyas por el Capitan Alonso de Alvarado* (in volume IV of the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Último Apéndice, pages II et seq.,) no date is given, but the departure of Alvarado on this preliminary reconnaissance is placed: "despues de haber (Pizarro) despedido en el Cuzco á D. Diego de Almagro, que iba á su descubrimiento de *Chiriguana* ó de *Chilli* . . ."—The agreement between Pizarro and Almagro, subsequent to which Almagro left for Chile, bears date June 12, 1535,

hence Alvarado began his first journey to Chachapoyas, it seems, in the second half of that year. He was accompanied by thirteen men: *Primeros Descubrimientos y conquistas de los Chachapuyas* (page II). This expedition only went as far as *Cochabamba* (Idem p. III): "y él, despues de haber hablado largo con los señores y tomado dellos noticia de la tierra de adelante y esforzándolos con la amistad, de los españoles, volvió á *Trujillo*, de donde no paró hasta la mar á informar al gobernador de lo que pasaba . . ." The *Primeros Descubrimientos* are taken from the third part of Cieza of Leon, *Crónica del Perú MS.* (page II). Following upon these chapters from Cieza is a *Memoria de las Cosas primeras que acontecieron en los Chachapoyas*, written by an Indian called Juan de Alvarado and in which it is said that Alonso de Alvarado asked leave to explore Chachapoyas: "año y medio, poco mas ó menos, despues de poblada esta ciudad de Lima . . ." (page XIV.) The act of foundation of Lima bears date January 18, 1535: *Libro primero de Cabildos de Lima* (Vol. I, Lima, 1888; page 10). This would place the first journey of Alvarado in the second half of 1536. I do not rely much on Indian dates; they are usually vague. All that seems positive is that the expedition took place, either late in 1535 or early in 1536.—The late Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, editor of the invaluable collection of *Relaciones geográficas* (already quoted), in Vol. IV, page XXVIII, assigns to the first expedition to Chachapoyas the date of 1535.

" The date of that settlement is given as 1536 by Cieza, *Primera Parte de la Crónica del Perú* (in Vedia, *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, Volume II, page 428). "Pobló y fundó la ciudad de la Frontera de los Chachapoyas el capitan Alonso de Albarado en nombre de su majestad, siendo su gobernador del Perú el adelantado don Francisco Pizarro, año de nuestra reparacion de 1536 años." On page 469, Chap. IX of the *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Perú, y de las Guerras y Cosas señaladas en ella*, by Augustin de Zárate (in Vedia, Volume II, also), it is stated: "Mas adelante otras ochenta leguas hay una provincia que se dice de los Chachapoyas, donde hay una poblacion de cristianos que se intitula Levanto . . . Esta provincia pobló de cristianos el mariscal Alonso de Albarado, á quien estaba encomendada."—Zárate came to Peru in 1544 on an important mission.—Herrera, *Historia general* (Volume I, Description, page 42): "En esta Provincia entró el Mariscal Alonso de Alvarado, año de 1536 por orden del Marqués Don Francisco Picarro, i la pacificó, i pobló la dicha Ciudad en un sitio fuerte, llamado Levanto, i despues se pasó á la Provincia de los Guancas." (Idem, Volume II, Decada V, page 174.) "Y poco despues de esto, quando Alonso de Alvarado acabó de pacificar estas Provincias, fundó en ellas una Ciudad, que llamó San Juan de la Frontera, en un sitio dicho Levanto, Lugar aspero, i que para fabricar las Casas, fué necesario allanarle con Picos, aunque presto la mudó á los Guancas, porque se halló ser Comarca mas sana."—*Guancas* is now a very small place three miles north of Chachapoyas.—Jimenez de la Espada in *Relaciones geográficas* (Vol. IV, page XXIII) inclines to the

belief, that Chachapoyas was only founded in 1538, and it is indeed singular that no mention is made of the foundation in the *Memoria*, also that in the *Tercera Parte de la Crónica del Perú* (Chap. LXXXIV, quoted by Jimenez) it is stated that Alvarado "fundó y pobló en el valle de Levanto la ciudad de la Frontera" after the battle of Salinas, April 1538!—In the *Primeros Descubrimientos* (page XII), Cieza states that Alvarado told the Indians that he *would* establish a Spanish town, *after he had further explored the country*. It is therefore likely that the opinion of the distinguished Spanish antiquarian is correct and 1538 the date we must accept for the foundation of Chachapoyas. If not, then the presumption arises that a preliminary settlement may have taken place at Levanto in 1536, which in 1538 was moved to the present site. In the *Nota de las Poblaciones de Españoles en el Perú*, 1571 or 1572, (Vol. I, *Relaciones geográficas*, p. 56,) Chachapoyas is credited with 150 Spanish inhabitants which probably includes all in the country. In the *Relacion de los Indios tributarios que hay al presente en estos Reinos y Provincias del Perú*, fecha por mandado del señor Marqués de Cañete, la cual se hizo por Luis de Morales Figueroa, por el Libro de las Tasas de la Visita general, etc., (in Volume VI of the *Coleccion de Documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias*, page 55) Levanto is put down as containing fifty-one tributary Indians. This was between 1590 and 1596.

¹⁵ Cieza, *Primera Parte* (page 427).

¹⁶ Guaman or Huaman means *hawk* (Torres Rubico, *Arte y Vocabulario*, fol. 85). For these names see *Primeros Descubrimientos* and also Herrera, *Historia* (Vol. II, Decada V, Libro VI, Chap. XI and XII). There is a discrepancy in the spelling to which I do not assign the importance attached to it by Jimenez de la Espada. The MSS. of Cieza also spells the same name in two different ways sometimes.

¹⁷ The differences between local names given by Herrera, and those given by Cieza, are of more importance than those between personal names. Thus Herrera has (ut supra page 174) "Longlaymba," whereas the *Primeros Descubrimientos* (p. V) have "Longia & (italic my own) Xunbia." There is a hamlet called *Lonya* six miles west of the capital (Chachapoyas). It is not clear whether the "Lonya" of Cieza is what to-day is called "Lonya chico," or "Lonya grande" which latter lies much further away, near the Marañon, and can hardly have been the place whence a hostile tribe came to attack those of Levanto. *Quita* might be the Cheto of to-day, five miles east of Levanto. Chillao of Herrera (p. 176) is *Chillo* of Cieza.—In the *Proceso contra el Capitan Alonso de Alvarado &ca* (*Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Chile*, vol. VII, p. 56) from 1545, a "cacique" of *Chilla* is mentioned. There is a place called *Chillo*, in a handsome gorge of the Utcubamba river on the route from Balsas to Chachapoyas. Baguan may be Bagua, not far from the confluence of the Utcubamba with the Marañon. All these names would tend to indicate that Alvarado entered the region from northern Cajamarca. Raimondi, *Perú* (Volume I, page 78), attempts to trace the route which Alvarado followed to reach Chacha-

poyas. I add the possible identification of Chillo with the Chillo of to-day, although the observation of the distinguished naturalist, that Chillao was mentioned jointly with *Luya* in the eighteenth century, is not to be overlooked. The *Tonche* of Herrera and Cieza might be *Sonche*, in the vicinity of the capital. In the document already quoted: *Relacion de los Indios tributarios* ((pp. 55, &c.) there is, besides Lebanto, *Chilcho*, *Sonche*, *Bagua*, and a few more that resemble some in the authors mentioned, like: Choscon (*Coscon* of Herrera), Charmal (*Charrasmal* of Herrera), and Chillao. Besides, *Cascayungas* and *Guancos* are mentioned. There is in the *Memoria de las Cosas primeras* (page XVI) an important statement by its author, the Indian Juan de Alvarado. He says: "desde Cuchabamba hasta Caxamarquilla; hay trece leguas caminó toda la noche y prendióle antes que amaneciese." Hence the distance from Cajamarquilla to Cochabamba must have been quite short. He also states that the Indians from Cajamarquilla as far as Lamebamba (Leymebamba) "obedecieron á este Cacique." Now, Cajamarquilla or "little Cajamarca" lies south of Chachapoyas and west of the upper course of the Marañon. Cuchabamba must, from these indications, have been a short distance north of Cajamarquilla. It is also significant that Alvarado in every one of his journeys to Chachapoyas started from the coast at Truxillo, hence his shortest route entered the Chachapoyas region from the south, not from the west.

"The best evidence of contact between the Inca and the people of Chachapoyas in pre-Spanish times is the presence of Chachapoyas Indians near Cuzco, where they were settled already before 1533. Cieza, *Primera Parte* (page 427), writes of the Chachapoyas Indians near Cuzco as follows: "Y así, despues que tuviéron sobre sí el mando real del Inga, fuéron muchos al Cuzco por su mandado; á donde les dió tierras para labrar y lugares para casas no muy léjos de un collado que está pegado á la ciudad, llamado Carmenga. Y porque del todo no estaban pacíficas las provincias de la serranía confinantes á los Chachapoyas, los ingas mandaron con ellos y con algunos orejones del Cuzco hacer frontera y guarnición, para tenerlo todo seguro."—In *Segunda Parte* he speaks of two attempts by the Inca to conquer Chachapoyas. First by Tupac Yupanqui (page 211): "Cuentan, sin esto, que entró por lo de Guánuco y que mando hacer el palacio tan primo que hoy vemos hecho; que yendo á los Chachapoyas, le diéron tanta guerra, que aina de todo punto los desbarataran, tales palabras les pudo decir, que ellos mismos se le ofrecieron." This would indicate a treaty of peace after indecisive fighting. His successor Huayna Capac, who died about 1526, made war upon the Chachapoyas again and was at first defeated (p. 244). "En los Chachapoyas halló *Guayna* Capac gran resistencia; tanto, que por dos veces volvió huyendo desbaratado á los fuertes que para su defensa se hacían; y con favores que le vinieron, se revolvió sobre los Chachapoyas y los quebrantó de tal manera, que pidieron páz, cesando por su parte la guerra. Dióse con condiciones provechosas al Inca, que mandó pasar muchos dellos á que residiesen

en el mesmo Cuzco, cuyos descendientes hoy viven en la mesma ciudad; tomó muchas mugeres, porque son hermosas y agraciadas y muy blancas; puso guarniciones ordinarias con soldados mitimaes para que estuviesen por frontera; dejó gobernador en lo principal de la comarca." Of that "gobernador" no trace is found in the documents about the conquest by Alvarado. In the *Memoria* (page XIII), a "cacique principal" is mentioned "natural de Cuchapanba," but that Indian does not appear to have had any connection with the Cuzco tribe than that of a compulsory or voluntary ally. Alvarado the Indian speaks of a "gobernador del Inca" at Cajamarquilla, at the time of the great uprising in 1536. With the same right the chiefs of the Pottowatomies, Chippewas, etc. might be called "viceroys" of Pontiac.—Garciasso de la Vega, *Comentarios* (Vol. I, Lib. VIII, Chap. II and III, fol. 199 to 200) gives an account of the conquest of Chachapoyas by the Cuzco people led by Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. He overreaches the limits of credibility by claiming that the Inca reached *Moyobamba*, from *Llavanitu* (Levanto), where he says they had established themselves. Of the buildings which he states the Incas erected in Chachapoyas there is no trace, unless the small building seen by me near Levanto is of Inca origin.

The notice of events at Chachapoyas previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, by Miguel Cabello Balboa in his *Miscelánea Austral*, hardly deserves quotation.

That Indians from Chachapoyas dwelt at or near Cuzco, at the time the Spaniards first entered the settlement, is well established. I refer to the above quotations from Cieza. But their number was not large. According to a letter written by the vice-roy Don Francisco de Toledo to the king, from Cuzco, September 24, 1572 (*Relaciones geográficas*, Volume II, page XI, note b), the number of Chachapoyas and (!) Cañares (the latter were from southern Ecuador) was then about five hundred. They were, although living at Cuzco, "grandes enemigos de la nacion de los Ingas." *Descripcion de la Ciudad de La Plata, Cuzco y Guamanga, y otros Pueblos Del Perú*. (Rel. Geográf., Vol. II, p. XI). The same document says: "En el Cuzco hay dos parcialidades de indios que llaman *Cañares* y *Chachapoyas*, que son traídos allí de los llanos de la provincia de *Quito*, los cuales se diéron á los cristianos en tiempo de la conquista y por ello son reservados de tributo."—In the *Informaciones acerca del Señorío y Gobierno de los Ingas*, 1570—1572, Madrid, 1882, together with the *Memorias Antiguas Historiales y Políticas del Perú* of Montesinos (p. 212), there is mentioned an Indian, "Don Martin Vilca, chachapoya, de mas de 80 años; que dijo que Guayna Capac lo trajo de los Chachapoyas á estos términos del Cuzco." In the *Informacion de las Idolatrias de los Incas é indios y de como se enterraban*, &c. (*Documentos inéditos de Indias*, Vol. XXI, page 137): "Otro yndio dijo llamarse Juanapicardo, natural que dijo ser de los Chachapoyas y que está en Savangai, términos del Cuzco, y que hera criado su padre de Guaynacapal, y tenia noventa años" (page 149), two more are named, one of whom was a "Cacique" (also page 164).—In the *Orde-*

nanzas que el señor Viso-Rey Don Francisco de Toledo hizo para el buen gobierno de estos Reynos del Perú y Repúblicas de el (Relaciones de los Virreyes y Audiencias que han gobernado el Perú, Lima, 1867, Título XXIII, page 93, Vol. I), the Chachapoyas and Cafiars of Cuzco are mentioned as exempt from tribute to the king of Spain, because they had "servido en la guerra, en tiempo de la conquista, como de otros muchos que se les habían llegado, debajo de la dicha ocasion."

²¹ *Informaciones acerca del Señorío y Gobierno de los Ingas* (page 207.) One of the witnesses is "don Diego Lucana, principal de los mitimaes Cafiari y Chachapoyas y Llaguas, que están en el repartimiento de los Lurinhuanas, en la Purificación de Huacho."—In 1590—1596 there were Chachapoyas Indians, together with Cafiari, as tributary Indians in the District of Truxillo: *Relacion de los Indios tributarios* (page 44). Their number is given as thirty. It is noteworthy that, while in Truxillo the Chachapoyas paid tribute, they were exempt from it in Cuzco. The establishment of "Mitimaes" or "Mitimas" at Copacavana is attributed by Ramos, *Historia de Copacavana y de su milagrosa Imájen de la Virgen* (La Paz, 1860, Chap. 7, page 9), to Tupac Yupanqui, but with such a formidable list of tribal and local names appended that the exaggerations are manifest. (The book quoted is a quasi re-print of Ramos by Father Rafael Sans. Some of the first chapters of Ramos are lacking. The remainder was compared by the RRd. Bishop of La Paz, Fray Nicolas Armentia, with an original edition at Sucre and found to be correct with few exceptions. I do not hesitate therefore to quote the above as due to the pen of Ramos.

²² The exaggerations in numbers and misrepresentation of the nature of these so-called colonies are very great.

Mitma signifies "a comer from the outside," or one brought from the outside—Torres Rubio, *Arte y Vocabulario* (fol. 160); Tschudi, *Wörterbuch* (page 392). In Aymará, *Mithma* means a stranger or foreigner, one who is not a native of the place. Nothing in the original sense of the word implies a forcible transfer to the site where the *Mithma* is located, neither in Quichua nor in Aymará. See, in regard to Aymará: Bertonio, *Vocabulario* (fol. 213).

It is to Cieza that a much exaggerated account of the Mitimas or Mitma or Mitmac is due. *Segunda Parte* (Chap. XXII). He dedicates that chapter to a refutation of an anterior statement by Francisco Lopez de Gomara. *Historia general de las Indias* (in Vedia, *Histor. primitivos* &c., Volume I, page 274). Gomara states that the Mitimas were slaves, whereas Cieza makes of them an institution framed by the Incas about the middle of the fifteenth century. This would imply a rather recent origin. Neither Gomara nor Cieza are fully in the right. There were few "slaves," if any, among the Peruvian Indians, as there was but little labor to perform by other than by members of the clan or household. As to Cieza, his admiration for the Inca led him into gross exaggerations. If the Mitimas were an "institution" founded by the Inca within less than a century previous to the advent of the

Spaniards, it is impossible that his picture of the magnitude of the "colonies" should be anything like true. Juan de Betanzos, author of the important work entitled *Suma y Narracion de los Incas que los indios llaman Capacuna éca*, unfortunately incomplete, was a contemporary of Cieza and had the superior advantage of being a resident of Cuzco and married to an Indian girl from the Inca tribe. He nowhere, in his prolix reports on the doings of Yupanqui (to whom Cieza attributes the idea of the Mitimas), mentions the establishment of such a "policy." But as stated, only part of the work of Betanzos is, either accessible or in existence. Zárate, *Historia* (Chap. XII, page 472): "En conquistando alguna provincia, la primera cosa que hacia era pasar todos los vasallos, ó los mas principales, á otra poblacion antigua, á poblar aquella tierra de los indios ya sujetos, y desta manera lo aseguraba todo. Y esta tal gente que remudaba de unas tierras en otras llamaban mitimaes." Zárate, who came to Peru thirteen years subsequent to the landing of Pizarro, already increases the exaggerations of Cieza. His statement is only a repetition of that contained in Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés: *Historia general y natural de Indias* (reprint by Don José Amador de los Ríos, Madrid, 1855, Volume IV, Lib. XLVI, Chap. XVII, page 227), "é para tener seguras las provincias é pueblos que ponla debaxo de su dominio, hizo que las gentes é vecinos de una provincia fuesen á vivir á la otra, é por lexos que fuesse lo uno de lo otro, los trocaba." It will be observed that the establishment of Mitimas as a policy is here attributed to the Inca war-chief who died about 1526, or half a century later than Cieza puts it. Oviedo had his information from Spaniards who were in Peru in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. In twenty years or less such a measure could not have been enforced to the extent claimed.—From official documents from the second half of the sixteenth century it results that the Mitimas were not by far as numerous nor as widely distributed. The *Descripcion y Relacion de la Provincia de los Yauyos toda, Anan Yauyos y Lorin Yauyos, hecha por Diego Dávila Brizeño, corregidor de Guarocheri*, 1586 (*Rel. geográf.*, Vol. I, page 62), speaks of *Mitimaes Chocorbos*. The Chocorbos were simply neighbors of Yauyos who trespassed on the range of the latter, after both had been overrun by the Inca. The same is the case in the district or (Spanish) province of *Jauja*. *Descripcion que se hizo en la provincia de Xausa éca*, by Andrés de Vega, 1582 (*Ibidem*, page 93), where Indians from Yauyos had established themselves. *Descripcion fecha de la provincia de Vilcas Guaman*, by Don Pedro de Carbajal, 1588 (*Ibid.*, page 168). "Todos estos indios desta provincia son indios advenedizos y traspuostos por el Inga del Cuzco." He excepts four villages. There are a number of other official reports of the same period on other provinces, only one of which mentions Mitimas. The *Descripcion y Relacion de la Ciudad de La Paz*, 1586 (*Rel. geográf.*, Vol. II, page 80), speaks of Copacavana, but without referring to Mitimas. In the *Relacion que embió á mandar su magestad se hiziese desta ciudad de Cuenca y de toda su provincia*, by Antonio Bello Gayoso in 1582 (*Rel. geogr.*, Vol.

III, page 171), there is the following statement concerning the *Cañares* of southern Ecuador: "Y á esta causa se llamaron estos naturales de los términos de *Cuenca Cañares*, y así hablan la dicha lengua de los cañares entrellos y la conversan; pero todos saben y hablan la lengua del *Inga* general, y entre nosotros y otras gentes tratan y conversan con la dicha lengua; porque dicen quel *Inga* expresamente les mandaba que la hablasen, y para ello pobló por aquí gente del *Cuzco*, que agora llamamos *Mitimas*; que quiere decir, 'traspuestos de una provincia en otra,' y así tienen y están cerca deste pueblo un pueblo llamado *Coxitambo*, donde están los dichos mitimas; y quiere decir *Coxitambo*, 'asiento dichoso'; de los cuales dependieron la lengua general conque agora se tratan entre nosotros." There seems to have been an exchange, some of the *Cañares* removing to *Cuzco*, and *Quichuas* settling in southern Ecuador.—The *Relaciones geográficas* contain over thirty official descriptions of as many separate districts of Peru, from the years 1582 to 1586, and those above are the only ones mentioning *Mitimas*. The *Relacion de los Indios tributarios* (1591, pages 43, 44, 55, 56 and 59), mentions, in all Peru, including Ecuador and Bolivia, twenty-one settlements of *Mitimas*: five in the district of Lima, six in that of Truxillo, six in Huamanga, one in Huánuco, two in Chachapoyas, and one in Ecuador among the *Cañaris*. The total number is given at 2,429 tributary Indians or a little over eight thousand souls. This is very far from the statement of Cieza, *Primera Parte de la Crónica* (Chap. XLI, page 393): "que luego que conquistaban una provincia destas grandes mandaban salir ó passar de allí diez ó doce mil hombres con sus mujeres, ó seis mil, ó la cantidad que querian." The gross exaggeration is plain. That remnants of tribes were removed, after an Inca foray, to a distant region is very likely. Such transfers also occurred in Mexico and among the North-American Indians.—Garcilasso de la Vega who, in some cases, is even more exuberant than Cieza, after giving a glowing picture of the "colonies" planted by the Inca, states about the "*Mitimaes*" (*Comentarios reales*, Vol. I, fol. 165): "Y esto he lo dicho porque en estos Collas, y en todos los mas valles del Perú, que por ser frios no eran tan fertiles y abundantes como los pueblos cálidos y bien prouidos: mandaron que pues la gran serranía de los Andes comarcava con la mayor parte de los pueblos, que de cada vno saliesse cierta cantidad de Yndios con sus mugeres, y estos tales, puestos en las partes que sus Caciques les mandauan y señalaban, labrauan los campos, en donde sembrauan lo que faltaua en sus naturalezas, proueyendo con el fruto que cogian á sus señores ó capitanes, y eran llamados *Mitimaes*." On page 166 he says: "Trasplantauan los tambien por otro respeto y era, quando auian conquistado alguna provincia belicosa, de quien se temia que por estar léxos del Cozco, y por ser de gente feroz y braua, no aula de ser tan leal . . . y muchas vezes la sacauan toda, y la passauan á otra provincia de las domésticas. . . . Á todos estos Yndios trocados desta manera llamauan *Mitmac*, así á los q lleuauan como á los que trayā, quiere dezir trasplantados, ó aduenedizos que todo es vno."—Settlements of *Mitimas* in the low-lands were few since

the Indian from the high plateaux does not easily resist a change of climate from cold to hot. The inverse also is detrimental to him, though not in the same degree. Settlement of foreign Indians on the range of other, even distant tribes, is always possible and various causes may lead to it. The Iroquois (with whose methods of conquest those of the Incas have much greater analogy than commonly supposed) allowed the Tuscaroras and the Mohekunnucks, and a part of the New England tribes (upon whom they had made bloody war) to settle within their hunting grounds and "their possessions were subsequently secured to each band by treaty." (Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pages 44 and 45.) The Eries, or rather a part of them, were incorporated with the Senecas (Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, 1871, page 152). It is noteworthy, that with the exception of the Inca warriors that had been compelled, through distance and inevitable long absence from Cuzco, to settle in Ecuador, there are very few traces of *Inca* settlements outside of the Cuzco range. In this also, the analogy with the Iroquois (and with the ancient Mexicans) is striking. Herrera, *Historia general* (Volume II, Decada V, page 83), considers the Mitimas as "soldiers" chosen from foreign tribes on account of greater fidelity. The bitter feeling that prevailed among the few hundreds of Cafiases and Chachapoyas near Cuzco, against the Inca is hardly in favor of this view.

* The names indicate it already. Pumacocha means "Lake of the Puma," and Leymebamba is a corruption of *Raymi-Pampa*: plain or level of the dance called *Raymi*, said to have been the most important one celebrated every year. It is not improbable that Leymebamba was on the confines of Quichua-speaking tribes north of Huánuco, and it is well to note that its people are called Mitimas in 1591 (*Relacion de los Indios tributarios*, page 55).

* That Leymebamba was peopled when Alvarado came to Chachapoyas is plain from the *Memoria de las cosas primeras*, by Juan de Alvarado (*Rel. Geográf.*, Volume IV, page XV). From the manner in which he mentions the willingness of the people of that vicinity to listen to the messages of Mango Inca, to rise against the Spaniards, it seems probable that they were Quichua Indians. Nevertheless, Garcilasso assures us (*Comentarios*, Volume I, fol. 199): "De allí pasó ocho leguas conquistando todos los pueblos que halló, hasta vn pueblo de los principales que llamã Raymipampa que quere dezir campo de la fiesta y pasqua principal del Sol, llamada Raymi, . . . y porque Tupac Inca Yupanqui, auiedo ganado aquel pueblo que está en vn hermosissimo valle, celebró en el campo aquella fiesta del Sol, le llamaron assi, quitádole el nombre antiguo que tenía . . ." How far this statement, that Leymebamba *had another name before* the Inca visited it, is true, I cannot ascertain. Neither can I find anything reliable concerning Pumacocha. The *Relacion de los Indios tributarios* (page 56) ascribes to "Pomacocha" 127 tributary Indians in 1591.

* Xalca, as "Laxalca," is contained in the list of tributary Indians from 1591 (page 56). Garcilasso, *Com. reales* (I, folio 199) speaks of

Suta as three leagues from Leynebamba. This would correspond to the *Suta* of to-day approximately. Jalca lies in the Puna a short distance above *Suta*. The two-storied circular buildings might be in reality composed of a massive base with an upper tier that was inhabited, as at Kuélap and Macro.

" Garcilasso, *Comentarios* (I, Lib. VIII, fol. 197), claims that in primitive times the Chachapoyas wore a sling around the head as distinctive headdress. More than one tribe from the Sierra wore slings as headbands.

" See *Decreto* of July 4, 1825, and the previous one of April 8, 1824. These dispositions were often changed, especially in Bolivia.

" Herrera, *Historia general* (Volume II, Década V, page 172), describes a dance which the Indians of Cochabamba performed on the arrival of Alvarado at their village. Cochabamba, as we have seen, did not pertain to the Chachapoyas region, but there is hardly any doubt that the Chachapoyas had similar customs. The dance is also mentioned in *Primeros Descubrimientos* (p. III) when it is stated the Indians were decorated with gold and silver ornaments. To-day the Quichua Indians of *Charassani* in northern Bolivia still wear, while dancing, ornaments of silver and gold, especially the women.

" About the religious ideas of the Chachapoyas we know almost nothing. Garcilasso, *Comentarios* (Vol. I, fol. 197): "Estos Chachapuyas adorauan culebras, y tenía al aue Cantur por su principal Dios." On folio 199 he mentions the Indians of Huancabamba. Huancabamba lies in the Department of Cajamarca northwest of Chachapoyas, west of the Marañon. That the customs were the same is, while not unlikely, not proven as yet. "En su religion fueron tan bestiales ó mas que en su vida moral, adorauan muchos dioses, cada nacion, cada capitania, ó quadrilla, y cada, casa tenía el suyo. Vnos adorauan animales, otros aues, otros yeruas y plantas, otros cerros, fuentes, y rios, cada lo q se le autojaua: sobre lo qual tambien aua grandes batallas, y pendencias en comun y particular sobre qual de sus Dioses era el mejor." This holds good not alone for that particular region, but for the Peruvian Indians in general; the Inca not excepted, although Garcilasso would have us believe the latter stood on a much higher plane.

" *Comentarios reales* (I, fol. 213): "Del arbolillo que los Españoles llaman Tabaco, y los Yndios Sayri . . ." Father Bernabé Cobo, S.J., *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (completed 1653 and published for the first time in Sevilla in 1890, Volume I, Lib. IV, Chap. LVI, pages 402 to 405), distinguishes two kinds: "uno hortense, que es el que aqui hé pintado, y otro, salvaje, que nace en lugares incultos, el cual no crece tan alto ni produce tan grandes hojas, pero es de mas fuerte y eficaz virtud que el hortense."—I saw much wild tobacco in Amazonas. Cobo regards tobacco as highly medicinal, even the roots of the wild species, of which he says (p. 403): "Á la raiz del tabaco silvestre llaman los indios del Perú, *Coro*, de la cual usan para muchas enfermedades." Of tobacco in general he asserts (p. 405): "En la lengua general del Perú se llama *Sayri*." He mentions a plant called *Topasayri*, the pow-

der of which is sternutative: "que son mas eficaces para esto que los del Tabaco. Y mucho mas fuertes que los unos y los otros son unos polvos blancos de cierta planta que venden en la plaza de México los indios herbolarios." The latter is evidently *Hellebore*, such as the *Calluwaya* Indians from *Curva* in Bolivia to-day peddle and sell as a cure for headache.

Cobo also mentions the use of cornmeal by the medicine men, and of maize in general (Volume IV, page 140): "Para las enfermedades muy graves que con las medicinas y curas comunes no sanaban, hacian los hechiceros meter al enfermo en un aposento secreto, que primero preparaban desta manera: limpiábanlo muy bien, y para purificarlo, tomaban en las manos *Maiz* negro y traianlo refregando con el las paredes y suelo, soplando á todas partes miéntras esto hacian, y luego quemaban el *Maiz* en el mismo aposento, y tomando luego *Maiz* blanco, hacian lo mismo, y despues asperjaban todo el aposento con agua reuelta con harina de *Maiz*, y de esta suerte los purificaban."

"On the Island of Titicaca my wife once hurt herself by striking against a rock in the ruins. The medicineman who was her steady companion and assistant in the excavations she conducted, insisted she should eat a piece of the rock, lest it hurt her again. When children are set on the ground before the age at which they are allowed to be taken into the fields, they are made to swallow some of the earth on which they are placed. The Aymará Shamans call the spirit they invoke at night in the fields, "son of a guinea-pig."

"The *Hacha-Tata* or great Shamans of the Aymará in Bolivia, at this day keep owls for purposes of witchcraft. Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Vol. IV, page 149): "Cuando oian cantar Lechuzas, Buhos ó otras aves extrañas, ó aullar Perros, lo tenian por mal agüero y presagio de su muerte ó de la de sus hijos ó vecinos, y particularmente de la de aquel en cuya casa ó lugar cantaban ó aullaban; y solian ofrecerles *Coca* y otras cosas, pidiéndoles que dañasen y matasen á sus enemigos y no á ellos."

"This belief to-day obtains in the Chincha valley, south of Lima. The turkey-buzzard, on the coast, approaches dwellings with the greatest unconcern.

"*Eslabon* means, in old Spanish, a piece of iron used to strike fire with, and the shape of the trousers may have given rise to the name. For definition compare: *Primera Parte del Tesoro de la Lengua castellana, ó española*, by Sebastian de Covarruvias Orozco (Madrid, 1674, fol. 261). It was originally written (at least sometimes) *Eslavon*.

"*Relacion de los Indios tributarios* (ut supra). The population of *Moyobamba* is given at 678 men, or about 2300 in all (p. 57).

"*Ut Supra*.

"*Relacion* (p. 56).

"*Camáñan* lies near *Molino-Pampa*, about ten miles north of east of Chachapoyas. The ruins were stated to be without protective walls. The word is unintelligible to me, neither could any of my informants explain it in Quichua.

* *Yauhcan* is said to be near *Longuita* on the west side of the *Utcubamba* stream, about four miles west of *Kuélap* in a direct line. All my distances are given after the *Atlas del Perú*, by A. Raimondi, fol. 7 and 12, and indicate *air lines*. By trail, owing to the broken nature of the surface, they are very much greater. The ruins of *Yauhcan* are said to be buried in tall timber. I find no etymology to the word in *Quichua* nor in *Aymará*; still it might also be *Llaucan*.

* *Torres Rubio*, *Arte deca.* (fol. 159) has: "el alto ó sobrado de vna casa."—An upper story or loft. *Tschudi*, *Wörterbuch* (page 374), defines the word as "village." In *Aymará*, *Marca* is village, "pueblo." *Bertonio*, *Vocabulario* (I, fol. 387; II, 217).

* *Raimondi*, *El Perú* (Volume II, page 528), gives for the ruins of *Malca*, according to *Werthemann*, 2938 meters or 9637 feet. On the *Atlas* (fol. 12) he has 3072 meters. *Tingo*, *Werthemann* places at 1742 meters or 5714 feet, hence the difference between the ruins and the *Utcubamba* is 4362 feet. I cannot ascertain the degree of reliability of these figures, not being able to find out what instruments were used.

* In the pamphlet entitled *Bienes de la Beneficencia de la Capital del Departamento de Amazonas* (Lima, 1876, pages 72 and 76), I find recorded the following two documents:

Between the years 1740 and 1744.—*Venta á censo por pagar cada tercio 40 pesos por la hacienda de Cuélap á Juan José Franco, por los Reverendos Padres de la Merced.*

Between 1826 and 1830.—*Ceson. Juan Manuel y Juan José Oyarcé, de la hacienda de Cuélap á la Merced.*

* *Relacion de los Indios tributarios* (pages 55 and 56).

* (*Ibidem*)—In the second part of the *Libro de Cabildos de Lima* (Volume II), this document is published under the strange title of *Relacion de las Encomiendas existentes en el Perú cuando practicó la visita é hizo el reparto general el Virrey D: Francisco de Toledo* (pages 137 to 151). The editor asserts it to be the document contained in Volume I (should be VI) of the *Documentos inéditos*, and in Volume II of the *Memorias de los Virreyes y Audiencias que han gobernado el Perú* (Madrid, 1871, pages 311, etc.). I cannot explain the important difference in the title. The *Note* in the latter two volumes says that the copy is from a MS. in Volume IV of the MSS. of the *Marqués del Risco* and that the volume also contains the "visita" by Toledo.—It is either an impardonable error of *Muñoz*, from whose pen the above note comes, or else the editor of the *Libro de Cabildos* has committed an impardonable blunder. The reputation of *Juan Bautista Muñoz*, his carefulness and exceptional familiarity with the archives of his country, makes it highly improbable that he should have confounded the census of 1591 with the one by Toledo sixteen years previous, and this throws a grave doubt also on any of the changes which the editor of the *Libro de Cabildos* has made as "corrections" of the two publications. Thus in place of "Conllap" he puts "Canllap" (p. 149). *Luyales* farther north of *Kuélap* than *Chachapoyas*.

- " It was said to be contained in a document at Truxillo.
- " I afterwards saw several of them.
- " Like the "summer-pueblos" of the New Mexican Indians.
- " Torres Rubio, *Arte* (fol. 100). In Aymará, *Suntur Uta* is given by Bertotto (*Vocabulario*, II, p. 328): "Casa que tiene el teché quadrado sin moxnete."
- " Compare E. G. Squier, *Peru* (1877, p. 302 et seq.).
- " This is manifestly an invention.
- " All the corpses found in burials supposed to be ancient are called "Mummies" in Peru.
- " E. B. Tyler, *Early History of Mankind* (1878, Chapter XI).
- " Garcilasso de la Vega, *Comentarios* (Vol. I, fol. 199). *Primeros Descubrimientos y Conquistas de los Chachapuyas* (pages V. VI, XII). Also Juan de Alvarado, *Memoria de las Cosas primeras* (p. XV, &c.).
- " Chiringote is south of Kuélap and near Leymebamba, Quillay about midways between the two places. Conilo north, and west of Chachapoyas. Such a scattering is of course possible, but there is no evidence of it.
- " I cannot find anything that would recall Kuélap, neither in the document of Alvarado, nor in Cieza, nor in Herrera.
- " This word I cannot find either in Quichua or in Aymará.
- " *Batán* is the common word in Peru and western South America in general, for the handmill or substitute of the Mexican *Metate*.
- " *Chhahuar*, according to Torres Rubio, *Arte y Vocabulario* (fol. 79), means some kind of fibre, also hemp of flax.—Tschudi, *Wörterbuch* (p. 234): "eine Art Bast, aus dem die Indianer ihre Stricke machen." Hence fibre of almost any kind.
- " Santo Tomas de Quillay lies, according to Raimondi, *Mapa del Perú* (fol. 12), 2691 meters (9482 feet) above sea level. The name may be from *Quilla*, "moon", in Quichua. In Aymará, *Quillay* is the name of a plant used extensively for cleaning and called in Perú *Tarsana*. Raimondi, *Elementos de Botánica* (Lima, 1857), says it is *Quillaja smegmadermos*.
- " "Pomacocha" is mentioned in the *Relacion* of 1591 (p. 56) with 127 tributary Indians or about 450 souls.
- " At the village of *Jalca*, above *Suta*.
- " Raimondi, *Mapa* (fol. 12), places *Tambo Viejo* 1913 meters or 6274 feet above Balsas on the Marañon.
- " There was then a plan to change the course of that road or trail to *Gollón*, but I opposed it strongly.
- " 948 meters, *Mapa del Perú* (fol. 12).
- " Borja, at the mouth of the Pongo, lies in Lat. 4° 28' 30" South, and Long. 77° 50' 40" West, according to Werthemann. Raimondi, *Perú* (Vol. II, 415).
- " Fernando de la Carrera, *Arte de la Lengua Yunga de los valles del Obispado de Trujillo &c.*, 1644 (reprint Lima, 1880, p. 9), mentions "la doctrina de los Balsas del Marañon" as a "Yunca" or Yunga colony from times not much anterior to the arrival of Pizarro.

NEW YORK'S FIRST DIRECTORY.

BY CHARLES GEORGE HERBERMANN, PH.D., LL.D., LIT.D.

FRANKS, David

The New York Directory containing, A Valuable and well Calculated Almanac; Tables of the different Coins, suitable for any State, and digested in such order, as to render an Exchange between any of the United States plain and easy.

Likewise,

1. The names of all the Citizens, their occupations and places of abode.
2. The members in Congress, from what State, and where residing.
3. Grand departments of the United States for adjusting public accounts, and by whom conducted.
4. Members in Senate and Assembly, from what county and where residing.
5. Judges, Aldermen, and other civil officers, with their places of abode.
6. Public state-officers, and by whom kept.
7. Counsellors at law and where residing.
8. Ministers of the gospel, where residing and of what Church.
9. Physicians, Surgeons, and their places of abode.
10. President, Directors, days, and hours of business at the Bank.
11. Professors, etc., of the university of Columbia College.
12. Rates of postage, as by law established.
13. Arrivals and departures of the mails at the Post-Office.

Printed by Shepard Kollock, corner of Wall and Water Streets,
1786.

In 1874 Mr. F. B. Patterson, of 61 Liberty street, published a reprint of New York's first directory, which appeared in 1786, the compiler being David Franks, a conveyancer, of 66 Broadway. It is this reprint we wish to introduce to our readers, and request them through its pages to make the acquaintance of our metropolis as it was one hundred and twenty-one years ago. Not to be led astray by our guide, we must call to mind a few circumstances that will naturally affect our reading of the story revealed by Mr. Franks.

When he introduced into the world the eldest of the now numerous family of New York directories, the city could hardly be said to be in its normal condition. It had greatly suffered from a devastating fire just ten years before, 1776. The traces of this destruction wrought by the flames would no doubt have disappeared by 1786 under ordinary conditions, but 1776 was the beginning of the War of Independence, which sadly interfered with the growth and prosperity of the young city on the island of Manhattan. At the beginning of the war, the loyalists found it an uncomfortable home, while after Washington's defeat at the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776) and his subsequent retreat, the patriots emigrated in large numbers, while the sympathizers of England returned and became for the time the controllers of the municipality. But their stay was not of long duration. After the conclusion of peace at Paris, September 31, 1783, England surrendered New York, which was evacuated on November 25, 1783. With the English troops departed many of England's loyal friends, while the patriots returned and again took possession of their property. There was much bitterness engendered during the long war against England, and the majority of the patriots were not at the time in a mood to forget and forgive. The Legislature enacted more than one law sequestering the property of the loyalists, and as a result of the war and the confiscation there was much derangement in business circles. A large proportion of the city's business passed into new hands, and naturally there existed for some years a feeling of instability, which no doubt retarded the growth of the population, keeping back new settlers

and leading old settlers to emigrate. No census was taken at this time, and it is not clear what is the basis of Mrs. Martha Lamb's information; but she tells us that between 1783 and 1787 the city at no time counted more than 24,000 inhabitants. The first census of the United States in 1790 reports a population of 33,000.

If now we turn to the title page of our book, in order to inquire what information we may gather there, our expectation at first naturally rises to a considerable height. The little book, which contains only seventy-eight pages, small octavo and which alongside of the 2,016 pages of Trow's last year's Directory is a mere dwarf, promises us the names "of all the Citizens, their occupations, and places of abode." Now all these things are spread before us on thirty-two pages, each giving twenty-four names, the sum total being 768. If we assume these 768 persons to be heads of families and allot to each family five or even six members, the total population would not exceed 3,840 to 4,608; this is a long distance from Mrs. Lamb's 24,000 and falls entirely beneath even our most modest expectations.

A closer investigation of Mr. Frank's book shows us that if our directory be the first-born infant of the art of making directories, the child inherits all the weaknesses and failings infants are entitled to be credited with. The alphabetic order is observed so imperfectly as to produce a bewildering effect. The spelling, as we shall see later, shows that the compiler was a rival of Napoleon and George Washington in the art of misspelling. Furthermore, when we compare the names of the resident lawyers and bankers given in appendices with the alphabetic lists, our search for the legal names will be in vain. Now if we look at the list of lawyers, attorneys, and notary publics we will find that they will sum up to forty-two, that is to say one lawyer to ninety-six or one hundred and fifteen inhabitants, or one lawyer to about twenty citizens in the alphabetic list. It is hard to say whom we should commiserate more—the lawyers or the inhabitants, if these figures are correct. But a closer scrutiny of the list seems to leave little doubt that

the directory is a business directory rather than an enumeration of all the heads of families, such as Trow's directory brings. We find no names of clerks, laborers, book-keepers, coachmen or other male servants, and yet we can not conceive a village of five thousand inhabitants without a complement of such business and domestic employees. In view of these facts it is safe to define the first New York directory as substantially a business directory.

Having satisfied ourselves on this point, let us study the little document step by step. It begins, as the title page informs us, with a calendar. This almanac should not be skipped, for it offers not a little curious information. The great number of days marked as anniversaries of battles and skirmishes during the War of Independence warn us that that war was still not only a living memory but a recent event. Washington's birthday is set down as a day to be remembered. It suggests that long before his death, and even before he had filled the presidential chair, "the father of his country" had become a national hero, and that he must have been looked upon as the leading figure of the struggle which had given liberty to the colonies.

We can not help noticing the strange fact that Washington's birthday is set down for March 11th. No doubt this is an error for February 11th. But why should Washington's birthday be set down for the 11th of February, when every school-book tells us that he was born on the 22d of that month? The reason is simple enough. In 1732, when Washington was born, his birthday was still counted as February 11th, for as is well known, Protestant England declined to accept Pope Gregory's reform of the calendar until twenty years later, in 1752. Honest David Franks forgot to reduce the old date to make it agree with the new reckoning, showing how difficult it was for our ancestors to accommodate themselves to the new style.

The calendar exhibits a number of ecclesiastical feast-days. We note the Circumcision, the Epiphany, Purification of the Virgin Mary, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Sunday, Rogation Sunday, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday,

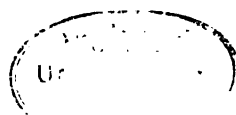
Lammas Day (August 1st, the festival of St. Peter's chains), St. John the Baptist (August 29th), St. Michael, All Saints, Christmas and Holy Innocent's Day. To these we must add the feast of the twelve apostles, including St. Matthias, and that of St. Barnabas. I take it that these are the festival days of the Episcopal Church. Whether Lammas Day here is meant to commemorate St. Peter's chains or the old feast on which the first fruits of the new harvest were offered at Mass in Catholic England (Hlaf-Masse: Loaf-Mass) I can not decide. This feast falls on August 12th in the reform calendar, and is the second illustration of the persistence of the old calendar. I have no means of ascertaining whether Mr. David Franks was an Episcopalian. It is certainly remarkable, considering the small number of Episcopalians among the inhabitants, and the fact of the close connection between the Episcopal Church and the Church of England, that the calendar should record these festivals of the Anglican Church, the more so as it omits St. George's Day. The omission of St. George is quite significant, when we remark that St. Patrick, St. David, and St. Andrew are duly recorded. St. Nicholas or Santa Claus, the patron saint of the Hollanders, is passed over in silence. The insertion of St. Patrick on March 17th points to the fact that the Irish element must already have been a factor of some importance in New York's population. It may not be amiss to draw attention to the fact that in 1850 the observance of Christmas Day in New York was by no means general. Business was not suspended on that day, nor for some years after when Christmas Day was made a legal holiday by the Legislature of the State. We are struck by one more peculiarity. The festival of St. John Baptist occurs on August 29th instead of on June 24th. The discrepancy, however, is easily explained; whereas the memory of other saints is commemorated on the day of their death, St. John, since hoary antiquity, has had the distinction, with Our Lord and the Madonna, of having festivals assigned to his birth and to his decapitation. June 24th is his birthday, because of a passage in St. Luke suggesting that the Baptist was born six months before the Saviour, and perhaps also for

symbolical reasons. The decapitation was commemorated on August 29th, both in the East and in the West. Mr. Frank's calendar has therefore omitted the feast of St. John's nativity.

The calendar, as the title page announces, is followed by a table of dollars, that is to say of the coins of the different States with their sub-divisions. We are reminded at once that our book is older than the government of the United States which has possessed the exclusive right of coinage since its establishment. In New York and North Carolina, we learn the dollar had eight shillings; in the New England States and Virginia it had six shillings; in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware it had 7s. 6d.; in South Carolina and Georgia it had 4s. 8d. It follows that in New York and North Carolina a shilling had a value of about half an English shilling, while in South Carolina and Georgia its value was equal to that of the English coin. The New York shilling was the equivalent of the Spanish *real*, eight of which made a Spanish dollar or *peso*, as coin in South America. It is interesting to note this connection between our coins and the South American system. Though the Congress of the United States did away with the shilling and its parts, substituting the decimal system, the old money system lived on for many years after the United States issued its coin. Indeed until the Civil War, New Yorkers rarely spoke of quarters or 25 cents, prices being mostly given in shillings and pence. The war gave the death-blow to this curious method of computing, as there was really no silver coin named shilling in existence since the beginning of the Republic.

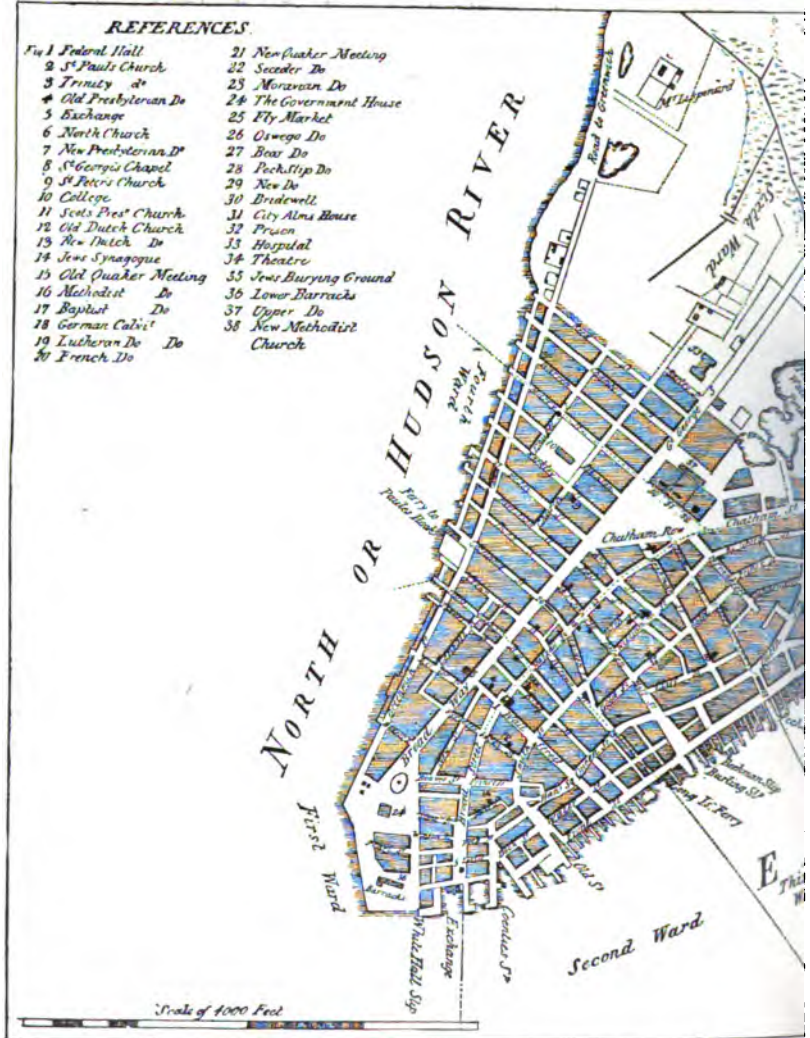
We now come to the Directory proper. We need not repeat the general description given of it above. We shall proceed at once to an analysis of the names there found. For our reader's convenience, we have inserted a map of New York of the date 1789, three years more recent than our volume. The street names remain the same as those found in the Directory. No doubt the gradual settlement of affairs to a peace footing and especially the selection of New York as the meeting place of the Colonial Congress had in the meantime given a great impulse to the growth of the city. This is indicated by the expansion

of the population from 24,000 as a maximum according to Mrs. Lamb to 33,000 in the first census of the United States. No doubt it had also considerably enlarged the network of the city streets, especially to the west of Broadway. Still, a careful survey of the streets mentioned in the Directory indicates also that the city did not extend beyond the northern line of the present City Hall Park, if indeed so far. In the map of 1789 which accompanies this paper that boundary has been passed, but many of the streets north of the City Hall existed merely on paper. The northernmost street we have noticed in the Directory is Chatham street, but as the numbering in New York was not successive it is not possible to know what part of Chatham street is meant. As it occurs very rarely, we may assume with some degree of safety that the lowermost part of Chatham street is referred to. It is certain that in 1767 the city did not go much beyond the southern point of City Hall Park, though the Ratzer map which bears that date has streets laid out far to the north of that point. On the other hand it is equally sure that the east side has always grown faster than the west. The network of streets on the east side south of Frankfort street seems to have been the same as to-day, although the names of many of the streets have been changed. It speaks volumes for the conservative character of our forefathers that, notwithstanding the bitter feeling against England and the English engendered by the War of Independence, yet, as our map shows six years after the close of the war the names of the English royal family, the names were still attached to the streets named in their honor. Thus we find King George street (North William), Charles street (Pike), Queen street (part of Pearl), Little Queen street (Cedar), Crown street (Liberty), Prince street (Rose), Princess street (part of Beaver), George street (part of Spruce), Duke street (part of Stone), still figuring on the map of 1789 though they have since disappeared from New York's topography. That the change was due to Republican sentiment is shown by the fact that Pitt street and Chatham Square still bear the name of America's stout friend, the great Earl of Chatham.

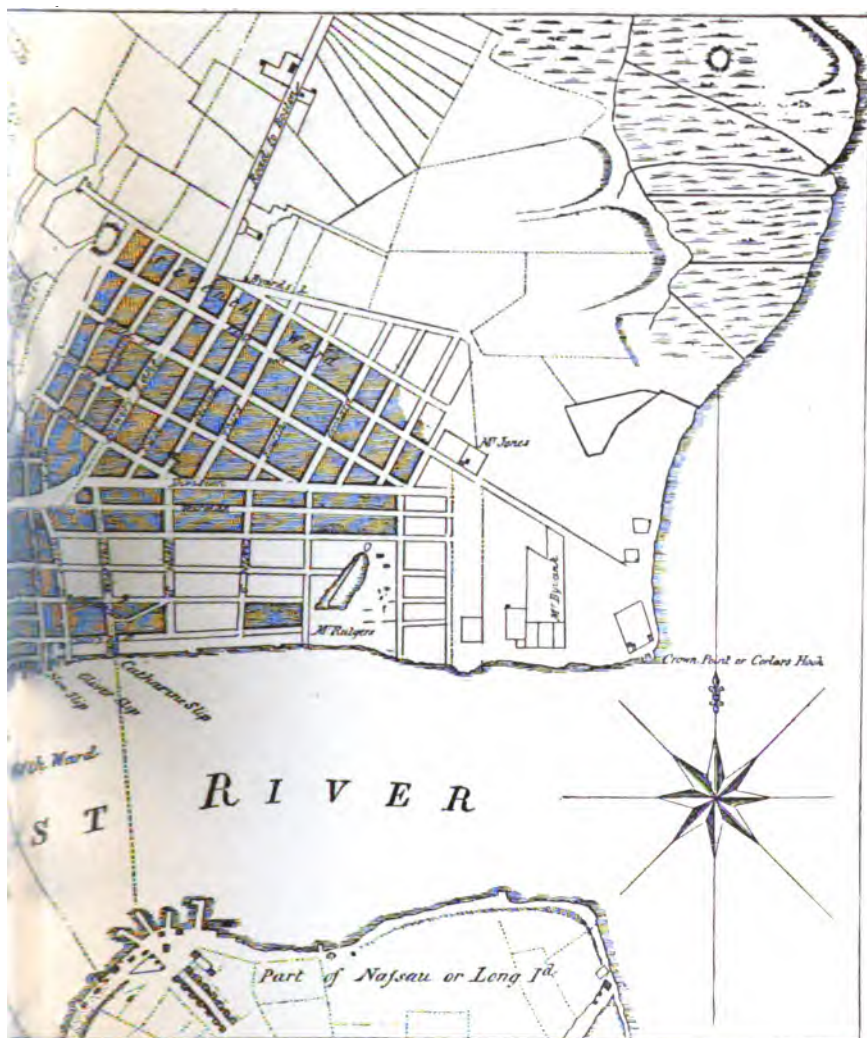


REFERENCES

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|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Fig 1 Federal Hall | 21 New Quaker Meeting |
| 2 St Paul's Church | 22 Sackett Do |
| 3 Trinity Do | 23 Moravian Do |
| 4 Old Presbyterian Do | 24 The Government House |
| 5 Exchange | 25 Fly Market |
| 6 North Church | 26 Oswego Do |
| 7 New Presbyterian Do | 27 Bow Do |
| 8 St George's Chapel | 28 Peck Slip Do |
| 9 St Peter's Church | 29 New Do |
| 10 College | 30 Bridewell |
| 11 Scots Pres' Church | 31 City Almshouse |
| 12 Old Dutch Church | 32 Prison |
| 13 New Dutch Do | 33 Hospital |
| 14 Jews Synagogue | 34 Theatre |
| 15 Old Quaker Meeting | 35 Jews Burying Ground |
| 16 Methodist Do | 36 Lower Barracks |
| 17 Baptist Do | 37 Upper Do |
| 18 German Calvinist | 38 New Methodist Church |
| 19 Lutheran Do Do | |
| 20 French Do | |



MAP OF NE



UNIVERSITY
OF THE
RIVERS
OF
CALIFORNIA

Our Directory bears eloquent witness to the portentous changes brought on by the wonderful discoveries and equally wonderful educational and industrial developments which the nineteenth century brought forth. How many trains and ships bring us the mails every day, only a post-office official can tell to-day, while a hundred and twenty-one years ago every citizen knew that the mail from New England and Albany arrived at New York at seven o'clock on Wednesdays and Saturdays during the winter, and on Tuesdays and Thursdays and Saturdays at eight o'clock P. M. in summer.

If we compare our Directory with its modern descendants, we cannot fail to be struck by the fact that while the latter very frequently gives two addresses, one for the residence and one for the place of business, nothing of the kind occurs in the former. It happens here and there that the same name appears twice, for instance, Dominick Lynch once as partner of the firm of Lynch and Stoughton, and once alone. But the address is the same for both, 9 Princess street. Mr. Lynch therefore dwelt in the same house in which he carried on his business, the lower story being probably used for his mercantile operations. Indeed, we may assume that almost universally men lived in the house where they carried on their business. Nor should this surprise us, as the business carried on at that time and for many years after was of a comparatively limited character. Large shops for the sale of ready-made clothing and shoes and the so-called department stores were at that time almost or wholly unknown. As there were no public schools the school-master probably assembled his little flock in some room or rooms of his dwelling-place. This state of things, no doubt, greatly influenced family life, as the presence or proximity of the father was an element in the bringing up of the children the value of which can not be overestimated. It gave a virile tone to the lads as they grew up and was a strong support to the mother's authority.

We now turn to the list of names. The names it spreads before us warn us that we are as yet far from the days when New York assumed its cosmopolitan character. No doubt, all

American cities being the product of immigration must almost from the beginning have betrayed evidences of this origin. New York, especially, was far from homogeneous. Originally a Dutch colony, in 1786 it had been for about a century an English possession. Its citizens were a mixture of old Knickerbockers and more recent English settlers to which we must add a sprinkling of French families, partly of Huguenot origin, partly Acadians, stranded here. Mingled with these elements we find Scotch and Irish settlers, not remarkable for their number, and a sprinkling of Germans and Spaniards.

Of the long columns of O's and Mac's which arrest the student of the modern directory there is hardly a premonition. We have noted the following Irish names scattered throughout our volume. Wm. Byrn, Esq. — Byrne (merchant), G. Burke (grocer), James Ceary (Cary?) (lodging-house), Johnson Costigin (tavern-keeper), — Connelly (tavern-keeper), Mrs. Daly (shop-keeper), Tim Donovan (tobacconist), John Dalton (surgeon), Michael Fallum (grocer), — Carthy (merchant), John Gillelan (grocer), Jas. and Thos. Gillespie (merchants), M. Kelly (inn-keeper), D. Leary (tailor), Wm. Leary (grocer), Dominick Lynch (merchant), Arthur Laughern (merchant), Joseph Leary (chocolate maker), H. Mulligan (merchant), William Mahon (merchant), Murro and McGrath (merchants), Robert Macgill (bookseller), William Mooney (upholsterer), Mary Murphy (tavern-keeper), B. Mooney (hatter), — M'Guier (tailor), — M'Quin (habit-maker), M. Rogers (merchant), Leon Rogers (breeches-maker), Rogers and Lyde (merchants), Michael Roberts (goldsmith), Robert Reiley (shoe-maker), George Shea (merchant), John Keefe (lawyer), James M. Huges (lawyer), John Kelly (conveyancer, land and money broker), Dan McCormick (grand treasurer of Masons), Peter Hughes (bank accountant), Michael Boyle (bank runner), William Magee Seton (discount clerk), J. Stewart, Hugh Walsh (secretary of the General Society of Mechanics and Trademen).

Alongside of this list culled from the Directory, we set down the following list, taken from Archbishop Bayley's sketch

of the History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York, pages 48-49, of trustees and benefactors of St. Peter's Church in Barclay street, which was organized in that year, 1768: Dominick Lynch, James Stewart, Henry Duffin, Andrew Morris, Gibbon Burke, Charles Naylor, William Bryson, William Mooney, George Barnwell and John Sullivan, of which ten names only four appear in the Directory. If it should be asked why the other six are missing, we can give no satisfactory answer. We may only suggest that perhaps some were omitted because they had no business, or house of their own and others because, while members of St. Peter's, they lived on Long Island or elsewhere outside of the city of New York. We read in Archbishop Bayley's History that Father Farmer in a letter to Bishop Carroll states the number of Catholics in New York under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Whelan in 1786 at two hundred, of whom twenty were communicants, three being Germans. This report, no doubt, is substantially correct, and leaves little doubt that a number of Irishmen at that time residing in New York do not appear in the Directory. Still these omitted names can not be very numerous. These two hundred included both men and women, and, probably, some grown up children, so that the entire number of Catholic heads of families of all nationalities would hardly exceed seventy-five. There are thirty-six Irish names in the list printed above. It is likely enough that a large proportion of them are the names of Protestants; but on the other hand we know that Father Whelan's congregation contained a number of French, Portuguese, Spaniards, and Germans, so that the number of Irish names omitted is probably below fifty. Strange to say, with the exception of Capt. O'Bryans, there is not a single name with the prefix O either in the Directory list or in Father Farmer's list. The Macs are few, but at all events, though Carthy has cast off his Mac, we have still a McGrath, McGuire, McQuin and McCormick. The latter, Mrs. Lamb tells us, was quite a figure in New York society, and from the Directory we learn that he was the Grand Treasurer of the Freemasons. How astonished would be these

Macs if they were shown a copy of Trow's Directory for 1907! They would be amazed by their own fecundity.

To find the Germans resident in New York in 1786 is no easy task. They are the proverbial needle in the haystack. I suspect that some of them changed their names or had them changed for them by Mr. Franks. The subjoined list no doubt contains some names whose bearers were not German. For it is no easy matter to distinguish some German from Dutch names. Some of the names are so mutilated that our classification must be decidedly doubtful. John Bickers (carpenter), John Burger (goldsmith), J. James Beckman (merchant), Theophilus Beckman (merchant), John Baufell (grocer), S. Bauman (grocer), G. Coon (grocer), Catherine Eickert (gentlewoman), Leonard Fischer (surgical barber), John Goodberlat (tailor), John Gesner (grocer), G. Rosen (ale and porter house), Daniel Rytter (tailor), Mrs. Rylander (shop-keeper), John Ritter (tailor), Richard Roseumen (tinman), Michael Ritter (goldsmith), J. Resler (tallow chandler), Henry Sperring (shoemaker), G. Stestrich (baker), John Shattel (shoemaker), James Saidler (merchant), Henry Shrupp (tavern-keeper), Henry Spingler (grocer), Gabriel Tierman (tavern-keeper), John Thurman, Esq., Richard Wenman (upholsterer), Samuel Zeller (baker), Rev. John D. Gross, Professor of German and Geography at Columbia College, Rev. Dr. Kuntze, Professor of Hebrew at Columbia College, Otto de Perizang (silversmith), Henry Becker, John Clits, Charles Ortzen (peruke-maker). These thirty-four precursors of the present great German population which makes New York the third German city in the world, seems to forebode the role played by their modern successors. They show a respectable number of grocers, but the majority of them are skilled tradesmen, carpenters, upholsterers, goldsmiths, etc. Of their religious convictions we find no indication except in the case of two language professors in Columbia College who were probably Episcopalians. As we have seen, Father Farmer found three German Catholics who were regular communicants.

The Directory exhibits twenty-one French names. Here

they are: David Cauton (windsor-c. m.), John Colinac (merchant), James Desbrosses, Fat and La Forgue (furriers), John Grandine (shoemaker), Mrs. Milliner Gourlay, Catherine Labec (shop-keeper), Lecock and Intle, James Montantdevert (merchant), James Muisson (apothecary), Andrew Mercein (baker), Doctor Miler, — Dumont (merchant), John Ramage (miniature painter), John Vacher (doctor), Anthony Latour, Marey Lorrent (peruke-maker).

Except the Desbrosses we meet with none of the well-known Huguenot names that were prominent in old New York, some of which at least are still familiar to us from the names of Bayard, Delancey and Leroy streets. The occupation of these old French denizens contrasts strangely with the employment of their German fellow citizens. We meet with several doctors and one apothecary, a miniature painter and a wig-maker, all professions that harmonize with the nationality. We know that the French troops that came to help our revolutionary forefathers did not all return to *la belle France*. Perhaps the doctors and apothecaries were old army men who settled in New York. Fat and La Forgue, the furriers, point to Canadian origin. We miss the name of the French Consul of the time, Monsieur Crevecoeur, who wrote a book on his American experiences and had a share in starting St. Peter's congregation, Barclay street.

Outside of the name of Jose Ruiz Sylva, of whom we know from other sources that he was a Portuguese merchant and had as his chaplain the Capuchin, Father Whelan, formerly a French army chaplain, we find no representatives of the Spanish peninsula, though it is a well established fact that the Spanish minister, Don Diego Gardoqui, resided in New York about this time and took a lively interest in the organization of St. Peter's. Mr. Stoughton, for many years a trustee of St. Peter's Church and Spanish Consul, is found as a partner in the firm of Lynch and Stoughton. Of what nationality he was I have never seen stated, though of course his name has a true English ring.

We must not neglect to look up the old Jewish families of

New York. Here they are, fourteen in all: Solomon Cowen, Isaac Fredenburgh (shoemaker), Moses Gomez, Benjamin Jacobs (merchant), S. Benjamin Judah (merchant), Rayman Levy (merchant), Jacob Mordecai (vendue and commission store), Isaac Moses (auctioneer), Philip and Jacob Mark (merchants), Simon Nathan (merchant), Isaac Joshua (merchant), A. Isaac (tailor), Myer Myers (goldsmith), and Carmen Hendricks.

It is an interesting thing to note that almost every Hebrew found in the Directory is a merchant, two being auctioneers and one a jeweler. When we bear in mind the powerful instinct which leads the Israelite to carry on his own business rather than work for another, and his general indisposition to hard manual work, we are inclined to infer that there were but few Jewish families outside of those here enumerated. Still we are surprised to miss the names of such old Portuguese Jew families as Mendez Cardozo, and the Henriques, the more so as we find their fellow countrymen, Gomez, Nathan, Hendricks, and Rayman Levy.

The bulk of the names contained in the Directory are Dutch and English with a sprinkling of Scotch Macs. The Dutch and English names are about equally numerous. Certainly there is a goodly array of Knickerbocker names when we note there are seven Kips to only nine Smiths. Some of the latter being, perhaps, rightfully Smids or Schmitts or Schmidt or Schmids. We must admit that the old Dutch stock valiantly held its own. Of the Van type we find fifteen names, including Vanderbilt, Van Cordtland and Vandam, but without Van Renselaer. The Schermerhorns are represented by Samuel and the Goelets by Peter and two Johns, but the Stuyvesants are conspicuous by their absence. There are Jones' and one Robinson and she a widow. The oddest names are Goforth and Han-shew and the firm of Snow and Hay.

Passing to the professions and occupations of these old New Yorkers, the number of physicians points to the fact that the rising city was by no means a model of hygienic conditions. In fact we know from other sources that the old town had a

very unsatisfactory water supply. Notwithstanding the brackish nature of the water furnished by the wells, no effort to bring in a more healthful drink was made until the nineteenth century, and epidemics and plagues were by no means rare. This accounts for the number of doctors, twenty-seven, or one doctor to every thirty families in the Directory. Or taking the proportion at twenty-four thousand, one physician for not quite nine hundred persons. A large number for those times and circumstances.

Mr. Leonard Fisher, surgical barber, reminds us that in 1786 surgery had hardly risen to the dignity of a science, though we read sometimes that Dr. McKnight was a famous surgeon. He did not teach surgery, however, at Columbia, but anatomy.

We have already adverted to the large number of lawyers that practised in New York at this time and its explanation. Among these jurists the most prominent were Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, neither of whom disdained to practise criminal law. But there were other men of the law who, though not so famous as Hamilton and Burr, were, nevertheless, highly respected members of the bar. Among these we may mention: Robert and Brockholst Livingston, Richard Varick, John Rutherford, Peter Depeyster, Dan Verplanck, R. Morris, Edward Livingston and Erward Pell. Robert Livingston was Chancellor of the State, John Jay, Master in Chancery. The Judges of the Supreme Court were: The Hon. R. Morris, Esq., The Hon. Robert Yates, Esq., The Hon. John Sloss Hobart, Esq., Egbert Benson, Esq., John M'Kesson, Esq.

We must now turn to the schoolmasters and mistresses as they were called in plain English in those days. We find thirteen of these pivots of civilization. As follows: A. Cock, schoolmistress, M. P. Coffee, teacher of languages, Nathan Douglas, Alex. Farfor, — Grimes, E. Hogg, Mrs. Hanshew, tutoress, John Mennye, — Picken, dancing-master, Mrs. Seaton, boarding-school, Jane Smith, — Ulick, dancing-master, Ben. Wellfe, besides the two Columbia College professors of German and Hebrew, Drs. Gross and Kuntze.

The Mrs. Seaton who kept the boarding-school in New York was not the Ven. Mother Seton who founded the Sisters of Charity, as she was only twelve years old in 1786. The latter is interesting, however, as the enterprising predecessor of the many fashionable young ladies schools that have flourished in New York and still flourish to this day.

We have four language professors, one for German, one for French, one for Hebrew, while neither the name nor the title of Mr. Coffee enlightens us as to his country or the language he taught. Probably he taught French. So much is certain, that as late as the thirties or early forties of the nineteenth century it was a difficult thing to find a French master or mistress. I have heard of New England ladies who were sent to Detroit convents to learn French, and I am convinced that the same purpose brought many Protestant young ladies to our Catholic convent schools.

The New Yorkers must have been a gay community in 1786, since they had as many dancing-masters as modern language teachers, and no doubt dancing was looked upon as an accomplishment no less essential than French for young society bloods. The war must have dealt cruelly with musicians, of whom we do not discover a trace. But in those days music was banished from all but the Episcopal churches as a diabolical device to lead mankind into trouble. Catholics were struggling for existence without orchestral accompaniment, and perhaps the English army had carried off the last trumpeter. It is remarkable that when opera was finally introduced into New York just forty years later its patron was the second Dominick Lynch. If we inquire after the source of the dance music we are reminded that in those happy days every dancing-master was a fiddler, many of whom, as I have convinced myself by ocular inspection, carried their fiddles in their walking sticks. If from the fifteen pedagogues we subtract the language masters and the dancing-masters we have six schoolmasters and four schoolmistresses to teach the entire youth of Manhattan. To-day we have as many thousand.

The school naturally suggests the bookseller. We find four of them, all in the neighborhood of Hanover Square. They were Sam. Campbell, Hugh Gaine, Shepard Kollock, and Robert Macgill. None of these names were connected with the book trade even in the middle of the last century. Probably the thirst for learning at this time was not violent. There was no lack of thirst, however, as we may infer from the number of innkeepers, tavern-keepers, and boarding-houses. Of these we come upon twenty-three tavern-keepers, eight innkeepers and eight boarding-houses, a total of thirty-nine. Their names belong to men of all nations, and from the cosmopolitan character of the hosts we may draw a conclusion as to the nationality of the guests.

It only remains to say a word about the religious aspect of the town. Mr. Franks, while he duly registers the only bank of the city, and introduces us to lawyers, the peruke-makers, and the Freemasons, hardly mentions the word Church in his volume. That there were churches on Manhattan Island we know, not only from the generally pious character of the Knickerbockers, and the fact that only some twenty years before a man was hanged for being a Jacobite priest, but also from the generally enterprising character of the town. The following clergymen appear in the Directory: Abraham Bache (Episcopalian Minister), John Gano (Baptist Minister), J. Livingston (Dutch Church), John Mason (Minister of the Seceder Church), José Phelan (Clergyman of the Church of Rome), Dr. John Rogers (Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation) besides the Revs. Gross, Benj. Moore, Lewis Tettard and Kuntze, whom we meet with as professors at Columbia College. Of the Protestant clergy, if we may trust Mrs. Lamb, Dr. Rogers was the most prominent. The Catholic priest set down in the Directory as Rev. José Phelan, 1 Beekman street, was the Rev. Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin Father who had been a chaplain in the French army and was now a chaplain to the Portuguese merchant José Ruiz Sylva whose residence was at No. 1 Beekman street. Father Whelan, as Archbishop Corrigan informed us, was a good French scholar, in fact a man

who preferred rather to speak French than English, though on account of some regulations of the Congregation De Propaganda Fide there was at first some difficulty in receiving Father Whelan into the Vicariate Apostolic. Dr. John Carroll of Baltimore intrusted the New York Mission to the Capuchin Father. His preference for the French language seems to have given umbrage, and many difficulties beset the foundation of St. Peter's parish which Father Whelan undertook in the year 1786. We may note here that the statement made in Archbishop Bayley's History that Father Nugent is the only name of a Catholic priest in the first New York Directory, is incorrect both positively and negatively. Nugent is not found and Phelan is. Outside of this fact and the Irish list given above there is nothing of interest to Catholics except the name of Wm. Burtzell. We suspect that this worthy man was the ancestor of the family that has given more than one Catholic priest to the Church. The Morrogh who occurs in the list of Irish names is probably an ancestor of the Rev. Dr. Morrogh, many years ago pastor of the Church of the Immaculate Conception.

As to the non-Catholics, the information furnished by the Directory is equally scanty. As each denomination has but a single pastor it is hardly likely that it had had more than a single church.

It is strange to miss the name of Trinity Church from a New York Directory, and worthy of the remark that three of the Episcopal clergymen mentioned—Bache, Gross, and Kuntze, should bear German names. However, let us not be hasty; we have no definite statement that Gross and Kuntze were Anglicans, but inferred this from their holding positions in Columbia College.

The only other noteworthy fact connected with the religious conditions of the city is the existence of the Seceder Church, showing that regularity did not commend itself to all of our revolutionary ancestors.

The Directory proper ends on page 52. It is followed, however, by a supplement of twenty-six pages which contains some items of interest to the New Yorker of the 20th Century.

We are at first reminded by the proud fact that New York was at one time the Capital of the United States. In 1786, the Directory reminds us, the Congress of the United Colonies consisted of a single house of which the veteran John Hancock was the President. It numbered only thirty-six members, Rhode Island and North Carolina being unrepresented. Few of the members bear names that have become historical, James Monroe of Virginia being the only one. Among the Catholics the only name of interest is that of Gunning Bedford of Delaware, probably the father of Dr. Gunning S. Bedford, who was well known in New York about the middle of last century, as a distinguished member of the Medical Faculty of the University of the State of New York. Dr. Bedford was a Catholic, probably a convert.

The executive department, or as our volume calls it, the Grand Department of the United States, consisted of the Secretary of State, John Jay, and the Secretary of War, Henry Knox. The former had his office at 8 Broadway, the latter at 15 Smith street. General Knox had charge also of the Navy, or as our book has it, of the marine department. We see that the Government of the United States, without executive head and comprising only two executive departments, the departments of State and War, with the clerical force of only fourteen officials, was still in an embryo state.

The State of New York had for its Governor, George Clinton, and for its Lieutenant-governor, Pierre Van Cortland. The Senate consisted of twenty-three members, nine for southern, four for the middle, six for western, and four for the eastern districts. The only names that would be recognized by the reader of to-day, are those of patriot Lewis Morris and General Philip Schuyler. In the assembly there were sixty-five members, representing twelve counties. We find that no budding statesmen of eminence sat in this body. Though New York was still the capital of the State, which dignity it did not surrender to Albany till 1797, the Directory indicates no official homes for the state dignitaries.

It is noteworthy that the city administration of the time

has had its memory perpetuated more successfully in the Metropolis than the Federal and State dignitaries. Not even John Hancock's name has found public consecration by being given to one of our streets. Jay's memory has been honored in this way. Though I do not know at what time, the location of Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, and Jackson streets, indicates the fact that their bearers were thus honored at a time subsequent to 1786. Whether Clinton street was named in honor of George or of De Witt Clinton, our Directory does not say, because in Mr. Frank's day it did not exist. The city administration of 1786 must have been very popular as we infer from the fact that both Mayor Duane and Recorder Varick have given their names to New York streets. We have already recorded the fact that a special paragraph in the supplement refers to the men of law. The only profession besides the juriconsults which are deemed worthy of a special paragraph in the supplement are the peruque-makers, and the goldsmiths. The word peruque, with its synonym periwig, would perhaps puzzle many a prize scholar in the modern high schools, and yet we can have no correct conception of George Washington and his court without the peruque. That the goldsmiths should take their place alongside of the peruque-makers is but fair, and the honor thus accorded to these professions will bring to the ladies the pleasant consciousness, that the Daughters of the Revolution are devout followers of their continental foremothers, at least in one important respect—in their worship of Dame Fashion. The Directory records the foundation of the Bank of New York which, however, as we learn from other sources, was hardly fully developed at this time. At its head, we find Mr. Isaac Roosevelt, a name that has risen still higher in our days. Among the directors we note the name of Nicholas Low and Alexander Hamilton, as also that of Thomas Stoughton, the Spanish Consul of New York and the only Catholic on the Board of Directors. Among the paid officials, however, we meet with the names of Peter Hughes, accountant, and Michael Boyle, runner. The importance of the Freemason organization is attested by a notice fully as long as that of the

peruque-makers. At its head we find Robert Livingston, member of the Continental Congress and Chancellor of the State of New York, subsequently Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The grand treasurer was Daniel McCormick, who was also a director of the Bank of New York.

There remain lists of the officers of three societies, two of which still exist, while the third has lost its "raison d'être." The last was the Society for promoting the manumission of slaves, which reminds us that, even after the Declaration of Independence, New York for a time tolerated the institution of slavery. As early as 1786 there was a movement on foot to suppress it. At the head of this society, it is worthy of notice, was the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the United States Government, Mr. John Jay. The other officials show no names of prominence.

The two other societies may be classed as social associations, the one is strictly speaking American and in fact patriotic—the Society of the Cincinnati of the State of New York. Its President was General Alexander McDougall, a Scotchman by birth, who had been appointed general in the American army and defeated at the battle of White Plains and who died in the very year 1786. As the society calls itself the Cincinnati of the State of New York, we need not be surprised that but few of its members appear in the Directory proper, for few of them were residents of the city which, as we have said, was occupied by the British during the War of Independence. The entire number of members here set down is 168, not ten of whom are citizens of New York. But then we must remember that New York having been occupied by the British during the greater part of the War of Independence could not furnish a long list of patriots, and not enough of time had elapsed in 1786 to bring many old Continentals from elsewhere. It is rather strange that while we meet with some four or five German members of the Cincinnati we can identify only one Irish patriot, Mr. John Connolly.

When speaking of the calendar we remarked that while St. George was ignored, yet the feasts of St. Andrew, St.

Patrick, St. David and St. Nicholas were duly noted. In the supplement however we find no trace of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick nor of the Welsh St. David Society, nor the Hollanders of St. Nicholas. On the other hand, we have an abundance of Scotchmen, the membership of the St. Andrew's Society of the State of New York being recorded at 110 regular members and 14 honorary members. The Livingston name appears six times in the list including Chancellor Robert Livingston as Vice-president. The most distinguished name on the roll is that of Alexander Hamilton. Lastly we note the name of Walter Buchanan, who may have been the ancestor of some Catholic families still existing in New York.

These studies, which have been a source of interest and amusement to the writer, he hopes will prove of some interest to the reader. They will have attained their full purpose if they will lead other members of the Catholic Historical Society to communicate any facts known to them about old New York and especially Catholic New York, to the *Historical Records and Studies*.

DR. DIEGO ALVAREZ CHANCA, OF SEVILLE, SPAIN.

BY DR. A. M. FERNANDEZ DE YBARRA, OF NEW YORK CITY.

WITH Christopher Columbus, on his second voyage of discovery to America, in the year 1493, there came Dr. Diego Alvarez Chanca, a distinguished practitioner of much learning and professional skill. He was physician-in-ordinary to the King and Queen of Castile and Aragon, and the year before sailing with Columbus had attended the first-born child of their Catholic Majesties, Princess Isabella (who afterward became Queen of Portugal), during a serious and dangerous illness. He was a native of the city of Seville, and had been especially appointed by the Spanish monarchs to accompany that expedition, not only on account of its great political and commercial importance, but also because among the fifteen hundred persons who came over from Europe to America in that fleet were several distinguished court personages and a large number of aristocratic young gentlemen belonging to the best families of the Spanish nobility—restless and daring warriors who had done excellent military service in the war just ended against the Moors.

Among those men of distinction who came from Spain to America in that expedition may be mentioned the following: Juan Ponce de León, the future conqueror of Porto Rico and later the discoverer of Florida; Alonso de Ojeda, the future discoverer and explorer of the north coast of South America, with whom the Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, made his first trip to the New World that bears his name; Pedro Margarit, the subsequent discoverer of the archipelago to which he gave the name of the Marguerite Isles; Juan de la Cosa, the expert pilot and cosmographer, author of the first map *Ms.* of America in existence, drawn by him in the year 1500 and now in the Royal Naval Museum at Madrid; Antonio de Torres, a brother of the

nurse (*aya*) of Prince Juan; the father and the uncle of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, the celebrated Spanish historiographer of America, who, I declare without any hesitation, was the greatest friend the American Indians have ever had; Bernal Diaz de Pisa, the accountant or treasury official of that expedition; Diego Marquez, the overseer of the flotilla and also master of one of the caravels; Fermin Zedo, an expert metallurgist, and Villacorta, a noted mechanical engineer.

Other equally distinguished persons who came over in the second voyage of Columbus to America, were: Fray Bernal Boil, Apostolic Delegate of Pope Alexander VI., accompanied by twelve Fathers belonging to different religious Orders, among whom the most prominent were named Fray Román Pane, Fray Juan de Tisin, and Fray Juan de la Duela, familiarly called *el Bermejo*, on account of his red hair. This pious mission of Christianization to the New World was well provided with all things necessary for the dignified performance of its functions, the Queen herself having supplied from her own private chapel the ornaments and the vestments to be used in all solemn religious ceremonies.

Columbus' youngest brother, Diego, who had come from Italy to Spain, attracted by the fame and success of Christopher, was also one of the voyagers in that expedition.

Immediately after landing on the shores of the island called by the native Indian *Haiti* and by the Spaniards *Hispaniola*—the Santo Domingo of to-day—Dr. Chanca showed his skill as an able practitioner of medicine by saving the precious life of Christopher Columbus, who suffered from pernicious malarial fever, as well as the lives of many of the distinguished personages who were also at the point of death as victims of disease during their stay on that island. And seven months later he again saved the life of Columbus, who had a very dangerous attack of typhus fever.¹

Columbus had left thirty-eight men on that island the year before, all lodged in an improvised little wooden fortress con-

¹ Read the monograph entitled *The Medical History of Christopher Columbus*, published in English in *The Journal of the American Medical Society*.

structed with the remains of the caravel *Santa Maria*, which had been wrecked on the reefs; but on his return thither, he found that all those companions of his first voyage of discovery had been massacred by the native Indians, and the little fortress burned and leveled to the ground. Those thirty-eight men had been left under the military command of the hidalgo Diego de Arana Enriquez, a brother-in-law of Columbus, and under the professional care of Maese Juan, one of the two ship surgeons or *fisicos* (as they were at that time called in Spain) who had come with Columbus on his first voyage of discovery to America, and undoubtedly were the two first physicians to tread American soil.

The expeditionists at last found a convenient place for the establishment of a permanent settlement in the island of Santo Domingo, which was at a distance of about thirty miles to the east from where the fortress *La Navidad* had been constructed. And in the selection of this place the professional advice of Dr. Chanca was duly consulted. It was on the shore of a good bay, on the north coast of the island, on high ground, with two rivers of potable water near by, and the back part well closed by the thick growth of an impassible forest, that protected it from being set on fire by the Indians during a night attack. There, in that spot, was immediately commenced the building up of the very first Christian town of the New World, to which Columbus gave the appropriate name of Isabella, his great protectress. The ruins of the stone buildings in a solitary waste constitute to-day the melancholy relic of that historical locality.

In that locality Dr. Chanca wrote his famous letter to the municipal council or *Cabildo*² of his native city, which manuscript, penned in the Spanish language of the fifteenth century, is unquestionably the first written document about the flora, the fauna, the ethnology, and the ethnography of America.³

² This is the name the corporation of a town was then called in Spain, equivalent to *Chapter*, after the chapter of a cathedral or collegiate church. It is now called the *Ayuntamiento*, and is composed of a *Corregidor* or *Alcalde*, and several *Regidores*; the first corresponding to Mayor, and the latter to Aldermen.

³ See the translation of that important historical manuscript in the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications*.

This letter was written during the last days of January, 1494; it left the port of Isabella on February 2d in care of Don Antonio de Torres, commander of the twelve vessels sent back by Columbus to Spain with the news of the discoveries that had just been made, and arrived there on April 8, 1494. Everything Dr. Chanca says in it, therefore, regarding those islands of the New World he visited, he learned in the short space of time between November 3, 1493, when he saw the first island (Dominica), and the last week of January, 1494—that is, in less than three months.

On his return to Spain Dr. Chanca published, in the year 1506, a treatise entitled *Para curar el mal de costado* (*The Treatment of Pleurisy*) and a commentatorial work in Latin, criticising the book entitled *De Conservanda Juventute et Retardanda Senectute*, whose author was another celebrated Spanish physician named Dr. Arnaldo de Villanova. The title of this second work of Dr. Chanca is *Comentum novum in Parabolas divi Arnaldi de Villanova*, which was printed in Seville, the year 1514.

Dr. Chanca also supplied personal information to Father Andrés Bernáldez, the accomplished parish priest of the town of Los Palacios and chaplain to the Archbishop of Seville, Don Diego de Deza, which enabled Bernáldez to give many important details of this expedition of the Spaniards in his famous historical work, entitled *Chronicles of the Catholic Kings*. The date of Dr. Chanca's death is not known.

THE REV. GABRIEL RICHARD: EDUCATOR,
STATESMAN, AND PRIEST.

By REV. JOHN J. O'BRIEN.

ON the massive facade of the Detroit City Hall one may see to-day four statues. They were presented to the city by a well-known local historian and were designed to honor the memory of the men who figured most prominently in the exploration and civilization of the Northwest. La Salle, Cadillac, Marquette, and Richard have long since passed away, but those silent images speak to the present generation of the great things that they accomplished. In the religious, the educational, and the political development of Detroit during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the last named was a leading figure.

From the establishment, in 1701, of Cadillac's colony, Detroit had been the seat of government in the Northwest under the successive régimes of France, England, and the United States. At the close of the eighteenth century it was still a military post, with a population of about two thousand. The people, for the greater part, were French Catholics. With few exceptions the English-speaking element was non-Catholic. St. Anne's parish comprised not only the village but also the territory included in the present State of Michigan, a large part of Wisconsin, and the islands in Lakes Huron and Michigan. Though missions had been established at various points along the lake shores and the river banks, they were seldom visited by a priest, and it was to Detroit that the faithful in those distant communities looked for the ministrations of religion. In 1798 this extensive parish was in charge of the aged Father Levadoux. As Father Levadoux's assistant, the talented and energetic young priest, Gabriel Richard, began his career in Detroit in June of that year.

Except for his defective knowledge of the English language Father Richard was well fitted for the work before him. The liberal education acquired in his training for the priesthood was supplemented by six years of missionary life in southern Illinois. This had made him familiar with the manners and customs of those rude Western communities, and had inured him to hardships to which he had hitherto been a stranger. He was born in Saintes, France, October 15, 1767. His father, Francis Richard, was for some time employed by the Government at the port of Rochefort. His mother, Genevieve Bossuet, was a descendant of the same family as the renowned Bishop of Meaux. At the age of eleven he entered the College of Saintes, where for six years he studied the classics. In the beginning of his college career his naturally vivacious disposition was the occasion of much annoyance to his superiors and led him into many difficulties; but an accident, which might well have proved fatal, brought about a notable change in his conduct, so that he was soon looked upon as a model of diligence and piety.

At the age of seventeen he entered the Seminary at Angers. Here also his application to duty was remarkable. Student life had such attractions for him that he spent his vacations either at the Seminary in pursuit of his studies or in teaching young men who sought his assistance. With the consent of his parents he decided to become a member of the Society of St. Sulpice, and for that purpose went to Paris early in 1790. In October of the following year he was ordained a priest. His superiors wished to ordain him sooner, but he had not yet completed his twenty-fourth year. This fact is important, for it makes clear that he was born in 1767, and not in 1764 as is frequently stated.

Owing to the unsettled conditions which the revolutionary spirit had brought about, and to the dangers which threatened both Church and State, many of the clergy were obliged to leave France. Without having an opportunity to visit his parents Father Richard, in company with Fathers Maréchal, Ciquard, and Matignon, departed for America on April 9, 1792.

On June 24th they arrived in Baltimore. All were intended to be professors in St. Mary's Seminary, which, under the direction of the Abbé Emery, Superior General of the Sulpitians, had been established the preceding year. This institution, however, was still too young to require a numerous staff of teachers, and the young priests were assigned to missionary work.

Father Richard was appointed to the missions at Prairie du Rocher and Kaskaskia. At this time Catholicity in Illinois was not in a flourishing condition, for since the death of Father Meurin, the last of the Jesuit missionaries in that region, the religious education of the people had been greatly neglected. At Kaskaskia there was a church with a congregation of about eight hundred. In a letter to Bishop Carroll, dated January 24, 1796, the pastor draws a rather unfavorable picture: "The people at this post are the worst in all Illinois; there is no religion among them, scarcely any one attending Mass even on Sunday; intemperance, debauchery, and idleness are supreme." Elsewhere, however, he received better encouragement. "I am tolerably well satisfied," he writes, "with my little village of Prairie du Rocher, although grave scandals are occasionally witnessed here. My chief consolation are from five or six English families, who live ten or fifteen miles from this place. They are surrounded by others who are Protestants, but who would be easily led into the Church if I could speak the English language with greater facility." In 1796, on the removal of Father Levadoux to Detroit, the mission of the Cahokias was added to his territory. This congregation consisted of about three hundred Indians, who, during the pastorate of Father Levadoux, had built a beautiful church. Father Richard worked hard in the interests of these communities, and with a high degree of success. It was, no doubt, the activity thus manifested that caused Bishop Carroll to transfer him to a more responsible post. During the six years spent in Illinois he suffered many hardships and privations. The rough life of a wild frontier region, the absence of sympathetic companions, the religious indifference of his people, the dangers incidental

to long and tedious journeys were all sources of discouragement. But because of his zeal he had the happiness, before leaving for his new field of labor, to see the condition of religion vastly improved.

In June, 1798, accompanied by the Rev. John Dilhet, he arrived in Detroit. Here he found religious conditions far from ideal. Education had received little attention, and morality was exposed to many and grave dangers. The town had long been an Indian trading center. At certain seasons, delegations from Indian tribes came to receive their annuities and to barter their peltries. On the same occasions came also hunters, *voyageurs*, and *coureurs de bois*—men with little respect for morality or public order. To the Christian element of the town these visits were a constant source of alarm, for their evil influence continued to be felt long after the visitors had departed. To check these and similar evils, to inspire his people with a love of learning, thereby promoting the cause of education and religion, were some of the tasks which Father Richard saw before him; and by the austerity of his life, by his zeal and eloquent appeals, he soon exerted a salutary influence for the reformation of existing abuses.

But he could not devote himself exclusively to promoting the welfare of Detroit. The numerous missions in the surrounding country demanded a share of his attention. During his first year he visited the various settlements between the River Raisin and the shores of Lake St. Clair. After a year spent in preliminary work he made his first extended missionary journey. The island of Mackinac was the first important station which he visited. There he found whites, half-breeds, and Indians, the last-named making up the greatest part of the nominal Catholics. A letter to Bishop Carroll describes the condition of the Indians: "The trade here is principally in liquors, and as long as this continues there can be no prospect of making the Indians permanent Christians; though the traders acknowledge it would be better for their own interests if no rum were sold to the natives, they persist in supplying them for fear of losing their trade. God only knows how

many evils flow from this traffic. English rum has been more fatal to the American Indians than war. Several Indian chiefs have asked the Government to suppress the trade in liquor to the Indians by law."

From Mackinac Father Richard went to the islands of Georgian Bay and thence to Sault Ste. Marie. In these places he found the Indians in much better circumstances. After an absence of four months he was again in Detroit.

About this time Father Levadoux returned to France, and Father Richard succeeded to the pastorate of St. Anne's. Like his predecessor he enjoyed the powers of Vicar-General. His first work was, with the association of Father Dilhet, to prepare for Confirmation those of his parishioners who had not yet received that sacrament. The probability that Confirmation had not been administered in St. Anne's since 1755, when Bishop du Breuil de Pont Briand consecrated the church, suggests the reason for the large number of candidates. In the summer of 1801 Bishop Denaut of Quebec came to Detroit, on the invitation of Bishop Carroll, and confirmed five hundred and twenty-one persons, whose ages ranged from thirteen to eighty years. Among the Richard documents in the archives of St. Anne's Church may still be found the manuscript list of the names and ages of those confirmed.

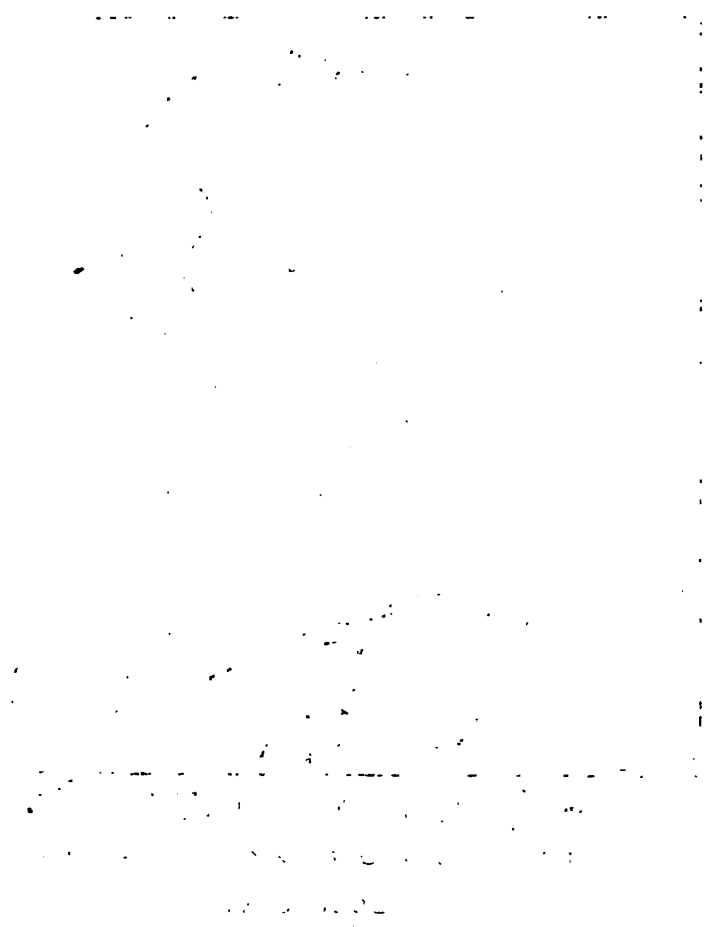
In the field of education Father Richard was especially active. One of his first cares was to provide for the instruction, religious and secular, of the young. To assist him in this work he selected as teachers four young ladies who, after special preparation under his direction, took immediate charge of the schools. These were instructresses in the Young Ladies' Academy, which he opened as early as the year 1804. With a special view to foster vocations for the priesthood, he established in the same year a Seminary for young men. Here were taught Latin, geography, ecclesiastical history, Church music, and the practice of mental prayer.

The progress thus far made received a sudden check when, on June 11, 1805, the whole town was destroyed by fire. The little church which had been built fifty-five years before, the

pastoral residence, and the schools were all reduced to ashes, and the zealous pastor saw the material results of seven years' labor destroyed in a few hours. Severe, however, as was this blow, he was not discouraged. The manner in which he endeavored to repair the loss is a striking example of that determination of character which marked his whole career. The people, deprived of their homes, were exposed to much sufferings. Food became scarce, and many were left without a place of shelter. In the midst of these difficulties Father Richard labored night and day to provide for the sufferers, and, without regard to creed or race, all who were in need shared the benefits of his efforts. From the military authorities he obtained tents and food, which he distributed to those whom the fire had left homeless. For the church and school buildings, too, he was quick to find a substitute. For a short time religious services were held in a tent erected on the commons, but soon a large warehouse was fitted up as a temporary church.

About this time Father Richard was requested by his ecclesiastical superiors to return to France, but some of the church trustees, who for a long time had been causing him serious annoyance, availed themselves of a calumnious report to have a writ issued against him, which detained him in the city.

Within three years after the fire the Catholic schools of Detroit were again in a flourishing condition. There were at least six primary schools in the town and the immediate vicinity. There were two academies for girls; and it is a noteworthy fact that in these institutions, in addition to the ordinary course of instructions, the students were taught the use of the spinning-wheel and the loom. An attempt was also made to supply the rudiments of a scientific training. It was Father Richard's aim to establish a school for the higher education of young men. To quote his own words: "It would be very necessary to have in Detroit a public building for a similar academy in which the higher branches of mathematics, most important languages, geography, history, natural and moral



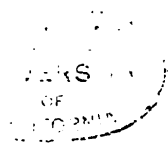
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REV. GABRIEL RICHARD

PASTOR OF ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, DETROIT.

1799-1832



philosophy should be taught to young gentlemen of our country, and in which should be kept the machines the most necessary for the improvement of useful arts, for making the most necessary physical experiments, and framing a beginning of a public library."

Nor was Father Richard concerned solely with the welfare of the adherents of his own faith. Every movement that aimed to improve the community received his hearty support. This is illustrated by his interest in the founding of the University of Michigan.

In a general way the third article of the Ordinance of 1787 provides for education in the Northwest territory: "General morality and knowledge being necessary to the good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." The first attempt of the Territory of Michigan to put this provision into operation was made on August 26, 1817, when the legislature passed an act "to establish the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigan." As is proved by a decision of the Supreme Court, January, 1856, this institution formed the beginning of the present university at Ann Arbor. The act of the Legislature was drafted by Judge Woodward, who, it is said, coined more words than any other American of his time. It provided for thirteen "didaxiim" or professorships, embracing the following departments of learning: Literature, mathematics, natural history, natural philosophy, astronomy, and chemistry; the medical, economical, ethical, military, historical, and intellectual sciences; and, finally, "Catholepistemia" or universal science. The president of the university was to be professor of this last-named subject, while the vice-president was to teach the "intellectual sciences."

On September 8, 1817, the work of the University was placed in the hands of Rev. John Monteith and Rev. Gabriel Richard. The former, a graduate of Princeton College, and pastor of the Protestant church, was chosen president and held seven professorships; the latter was appointed vice-president

and given the six remaining professorships. They were responsible for the management of the University, and were amenable only to the Governor, by whom they were appointed. The annual salary of the president was twenty-five dollars, that of the vice-president eighteen dollars and fifty cents; and that of each professor twelve dollars and fifty cents. Owing to the scarcity of funds, and the slender appropriations of the Governor and Judges, the building of the University proceeded slowly. Of the precise character of the work accomplished by the first two directors of the University of Michigan little is known. It is of record, however, that on February 8, 1821, two hundred and fifteen dollars were appropriated for the president's salary for the years 1818, 1819, and 1820; but the vice-president's salary is not mentioned.

That Father Richard actually taught in the new University is highly probable, though not certain. It is clear that at least during the early years of its career he manifested a lively interest in its progress, for when the original University Act was repealed on April 30, 1821, and a new corporation was created under the title of the University of Michigan, his name was placed on the list of the twenty trustees, who, together with the Governor, received all the rights of the old corporation. With these facts before us it is only fair to assume that his subsequent relations with the University were of a character similar to those which have just been mentioned.

As a further evidence of his interest in education may be mentioned the fact that he was an active member of the Michigan Historical Society. His name appears on the list of charter members. On February 27, 1832, he received through Major Henry Whiting an invitation from this Society to deliver the anniversary address. In answer he wrote: "I regret that the extent of my correspondence, the multiplicity of my clerical functions, . . . and several other pressing and uncontrollable circumstances do imperiously prevent me from accepting a task which I consider a duty in all good citizens to assist in preserving for the benefit of society the facts of the early transactions which have taken place in our Territory." The letter also in-

dicates the method to be pursued in a thorough investigation into the history of the Northwest. It is an undoubted proof of the scholarship and the patriotism of the author.

In the religious education of the people, Father Richard had more than an ordinary share. His frequent and eloquent discourses to his own congregation exerted a powerful influence for good. But his efforts did not end here. He was, perhaps, the first priest in the United States to deliver a series of religious lectures to non-Catholics. His attractive personality and the peculiar circumstances of the time account for this fact. In 1807 the Governor and other officials requested him to lecture to them in the English language. With reluctance he accepted the invitation. "I was sensible of my incapacity," he wrote to Bishop Carroll," but as there was no English minister here of any denomination I thought it might be of some utility to take possession of the ground." Every Sunday at noon the lectures were delivered in the council house. Setting aside questions of a controversial nature he spoke of the general principles to be observed in the investigation of truth, the sources of error, and the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, such as the spirituality and immortality of the human soul.

Probably with a view to obtain financial assistance in rebuilding St. Anne's Church Father Richard visited Baltimore in 1808. On this occasion he secured a printing-press and a font of type, which were sent to Detroit and set up at Spring Wells in the house of Jacques Lasselle. Parts of this old press are still in existence. The records of the Michigan State Historical Society show that at a meeting held in December, 1857, Mr. George W. Pattison presented to the Society "The lever of the first printing-press used in the State of Michigan, having been brought to this city from Baltimore, about 1810, by Father Richard."

It is, however, almost certain that there was a printing-press in Michigan as early as 1777, for in that year Lieutenant Governor Hamilton issued to the "rebel Colonists" a number of proclamations dated from Detroit and in all probability

printed there. Again, in 1785, there was one in the possession of Alexander and William Macomb. In a letter written that year to one of their correspondents in London they acknowledged the receipt of the machine, but complained that no directions had been sent for putting it in working order. There is no evidence that this press was ever used.

The arrival of Father Richard's press was an important event in the history of Detroit. Before that time various methods had been employed in making public announcements. Sometimes notices were written by hand and posted in conspicuous places. The town-crier, too, was an early feature in the village. At St. Anne's there existed a custom which was a slight modification of the town-crier's duties. For some time, at least, Theophilus Mettez, the assistant sacristan, was accustomed, at the close of the Sunday services, to station himself outside the church and announce entertainments and other events of public interest to occur during the week.

The press was frequently called into service by the Governor and Judges of the Territory in issuing official documents. From it also, in 1812, came General Brock's proclamation. Shortly after its arrival it was employed in the production of a newspaper. On August 31, 1809, the *Michigan Essay, or Impartial Observer*, was introduced to the people. This paper was "printed and published" by James M. Miller, but under the immediate supervision of Father Richard. At least five copies of the first issue are still in existence. It was to be published every Thursday, but it is doubtful whether more than a single number ever appeared. Except one and a half columns in French, the paper, containing sixteen columns, is in the English language. The contents include news items copied from various home and foreign papers, a few poems, and short prose articles on miscellaneous topics. No space is devoted to local news, and there is only one advertisement—that of St. Anne's School. The *Essay* was the first newspaper published in the Territory of Michigan, and, though it proved a failure, it shows another phase of Father Richard's activity.

Between the years 1809 and 1812 he issued from the same

press at least seven books. These are religious and educational in character. While James M. Miller was in charge of the printing-office, two books were published. The first is "*The Child's Spelling-Book or Michigan Instructor; being compiled from the most approved authors by a teacher of Detroit.*" It is a volume of two hundred and fifty pages and bears date of August 1, 1809. The second work printed by Miller is a prayer-book of three hundred pages, with the title: *L'ame pénitente, ou la nouveaux considération sur les vérités éternelles.*

It is a peculiar fact that during the year 1810 nothing appears to have been published. But in 1811 Mr. A. Coxshaw, who succeeded Miller as printer, brought out two new works: *La journée du Chrétien Sanctifié par la prière et méditation*, and *Les Ornemens de la Memoire, ou les Traits Brillans des Poètes Francois les plus célèbres: avec des Dissertations sur chaque genre de style, pour perfectionner l'éducation de la Jeunesse.* The latter is a slender volume, of one hundred and thirty-two pages, divided into seven chapters. It is composed of poetical excerpts, mostly from Corneille and Racine, with short introductions and commentaries in prose. The first chapter, which occupies almost one-third of the entire work, is devoted to a consideration of some of the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, such as the existence of God and the immortality of the human soul. The remaining chapters deal with a variety of subjects. The selections are arranged under different headings with a view to accentuate the more obvious principles of correct literary expression.

In 1812, under the management of Theophilus Mettez, three works were issued, all of them printed both in French and English. The volume of *Epistles and Gospels for all the Sundays and Feast-days of the Year* enjoys the distinction of being the first publication, in the Northwest, of a part of the Sacred Scriptures. The *Children's Journal*, as the title explains, is a collection of "moral and entertaining stories in dialogue from the French of M. Berquin." The remaining work is *A Short Historical Catechism containing a Summary*

of Sacred History and Christian Doctrine. It is divided into two parts: the first an outline of the history of revealed religion from the creation of the world down to the close of the Christian persecutions; the second, a brief exposition of the teachings of the Catholic Church.

If we consider the extent of the work involved in these publications, the limited resources at the author's command, the numerous duties that engaged his attention, and the difficulties to be overcome, we can better realize the intensity of the zeal that urged him to the accomplishment of these results. It was his intention to publish other books, but the War of 1812 brought the work to an abrupt close. The demoralization following Hull's surrender of Detroit was indescribable, and Father Richard fell a victim to the injustice that prevailed. Though a priest, and therefore a non-combatant, he was arrested by General Brock at the instigation of some refugee Canadian Tories, who hated him because of his patriotic sentiments. During the war he was retained as a prisoner at Sandwich, where he used his influence with the Indian chiefs to save American prisoners from torture. On regaining freedom he returned to Detroit, where he found many of the people destitute. On this occasion his conduct was a repetition of what it had been after the fire of 1805. Besides a large supply of grain he purchased provisions of various kinds; these he distributed gratuitously to all who were in need.

For his work in the cause of religion and education Father Richard deserves the lasting gratitude of the people in whose behalf he labored; and had he rendered no other public service his right to a prominent place among the benefactors of Detroit and of Michigan would still remain beyond dispute. But he has a further claim to distinction. As a private citizen he was interested in every movement that tended to the public good. As a territorial delegate to the national legislature for two years, he so represented the interests of Michigan as to leave his enemies without even plausible grounds for criticism. His election to Congress stands unique in the history of the United States. In speaking of his advent to Congress *The Niles*

Register says: "Mr. Gabriel Richard, a Roman Catholic priest, has been elected a delegate from Michigan Territory. This is probably the first instance of the kind in the United States." And we may add that during the succeeding eighty years no one performing the functions of a priest has held a seat in Congress.

Nor was his election due to the lack of competitors. He was opposed by John Biddle, a brother of the celebrated Nicholas Biddle; by Austin E. Wing, a prominent citizen of Detroit; and by three others, Whitney, McCloskey, and Williams. Nevertheless he received twenty-three votes more than Biddle, his closest rival. In the contest he was strongly supported by many of his non-Catholic friends. A number of Catholics, under the leadership of Williams, a trustee of St. Anne's, bitterly opposed their pastor. There is little doubt that this faction was largely responsible for his defeat two years later.

For mingling in politics Father Richard was severely criticized, yet no one doubted the sincerity of his motives. An important consideration in his acceptance of the nomination was the financial condition of St. Anne's Church. For buildings and other improvements the parish had incurred a large debt, which he hoped to lessen with the aid of his congressional salary. He was true to his generous purpose; St. Anne's profited materially by the liberal contributions he was thus enabled to offer. Referring to this matter Father Gallitzin wrote: "When I heard of your election to Congress I disapproved of it at once; but I have the honor to inform you that if you can manage to have a seat in Congress all your life, you will do more good for religion with your salary than many other missionaries with all their zeal and preaching."

The circumstances of Father Richard's departure for Washington were no less remarkable than the fact of his election. From a prison cell he went to take his seat with the lawmakers of the nation. Yet he had committed no crime—he had simply performed the duties of his priestly office. One of his parishioners, a certain Mr. Labadie, had obtained a civil divorce and

remarried; Father Richard declared him excommunicated. Labadie brought suit, and on the plea that his reputation and his business had been injured, secured a judgment against the priest for \$1,116. This amount he refused to pay, and as he had no property he was imprisoned. On hearing of this fact three of his parishioners became his sureties, and he soon set out for the Capitol. The judgment was eventually arrested.

In Washington a new difficulty awaited him. Since their defeat at the polls his political enemies had not been inactive, but their endeavors to prevent his admission to Congress resulted in failure. On Monday, December 8, 1823, he presented himself in the House, produced his credentials, was qualified, and took his seat as delegate from the Territory of Michigan. Three days later Mr. Scott presented the petition of Mr. Biddle, praying that the election and return of Richard be set aside and his seat vacated. This petition was referred to the committee of elections. In its report, on January 13th following, the committee considered in detail the objections of Biddle. These were two: First, that the court of Wayne County, in the Territory of Michigan, where Richard had made application for naturalization, was not authorized to admit aliens to citizenship; and second, that, even if this court had the necessary jurisdiction, the sitting delegate had not been duly elected "inasmuch as he had not resided in the Territory one year previous to the election, in the quality of a citizen of the United States." The report refers to the ordinance of 1787 as "the basis of all the Territorial governments which have since existed," and states further that "unless it can be deduced from the general principles of the Constitution, there is no authority to exclude an alien from holding a seat in Congress as a delegate from a Territory." It was not, however, on this account that the objections were set aside. The committee decided that the court of Wayne County had the jurisdiction necessary in the case; and that the law which required a year's residence in the Territory before he could vote or be voted for regarded not the citizen but the individual. The report was ordered to lie on the table. On February 2d, the House passed an order that John Biddle

withdraw his memorial and documents contesting the election of Gabriel Richards.

As a territorial delegate he had no vote. But during his first year in office he presented petitions relating to lands and roads in Michigan, to the extension of streets in Detroit, and to the location of school grants. It was during the second session of the Eighteenth Congress that General Lafayette made his last visit to the United States. On December 10, 1824, Father Richard, with his fellow members, received the distinguished visitor in the House of Representatives. The only important speech that he made in Congress was delivered January 28, 1825. The House had resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the "bill to authorize the surveying and opening of a road from Detroit to Chicago, in the State of Illinois." When Speaker Clay requested him to express his views on the bill he arose and made a strong plea in its behalf. He called attention to the commercial importance of a road which "would connect the East of the Union with the West," which would afford facility for transporting troops and military provisions. He pointed out the fact that during the War of 1812 the Government had incurred an expenditure of ten or twelve million dollars owing to the lack of roads which should have been previously provided. "This road," he said, "is, therefore, to be beneficial to your finances, your military operations, and to all parts of the Union as well as to Michigan itself, as it will afford all kinds of encouragement to the citizens of the Eastern States, who wish to emigrate to the beautiful and fertile lands of the West." The bill became a law on the last day of the session, when Father Richard's congressional career came to a close.

Again he became a candidate for delegate, but this time he was not successful. Biddle and Wing were once more his opponents. Williams, it appears, worked not so much to support either of the other candidates as to defeat Richard. Biddle received the largest number of votes, but the election was contested, and the decision rested with a board of canvassers. This board rejected as illegal enough votes to give the certificate of election to Wing, and the contest was thus removed from Detroit

to Washington, where, after more than a year, the decision was finally made in his favor. Richard's friends drew up a resolution protesting against the decision of the board of canvassers on the ground that he would have been elected had the board rejected certain votes against him for the same reason that they had rejected others in his favor. In December, 1825, Richard sent two communications to Speaker Taylor, setting forth his claims. In one of these memorials he gave three reasons to show that he had been dealt with unjustly: First, that the presiding officers at the elections had admitted to the polls many illegal voters who were opposed to him; second, that they had forcibly prevented many of his friends from voting; and third, that in giving the certificate of election to Wing the canvassers had acted unfairly. The committee of elections, however, did not sustain his objections, and the decision, which was not given until the greater part of the term had expired, awarded the honor to Austin E. Wing.

A short time after the destructive fire of 1805 the parochial services of St. Anne's Church were held in the chapel which had been fitted up in the remodelled warehouse of Jacques Lasselle, at Spring Wells, and here they continued to be held for fifteen years. The locating of the church at this point was the remote cause of a serious dispute. Though the site was a most beautiful one it was too far removed from the eastern part of the parish. To obviate this difficulty a new parish, known as the *Côté du Nord Est*, was formed. There a church was built, and Father Richard or his assistant officiated on Sundays and special festivals. Until the question arose of selecting a site for the new church of St. Anne, matters ran on very smoothly. But on this point opinion was divided. The pastor, together with a majority of the trustees and parishioners, favored the Little Military Square which the Governor and Judges had designated for that purpose—the place which was finally agreed upon. The trustees of the *Côté du Nord Est* insisted on having the new church built in their parish, and went so far as to form a corporation with the title of St. Anne of Detroit. The case was referred to Bishop Flaget, under

whose jurisdiction Detroit had been since the erection of the See of Bardstown in 1810. In 1817 he issued a pastoral letter interdicting the church of the *Côté du Nord Est*. The trouble was not settled, however, until the following year, when Bishop Flaget came to Detroit. Through his interposition a reconciliation was soon effected, and the removal of the interdict was made the occasion of an elaborate celebration. The cornerstone of the new church was laid June 11, 1818. Thus was set at rest the most serious trouble which Father Richard encountered during the whole course of his pastoral career.

With the consecration, in 1822, of Father Fenwick as the first Bishop of Cincinnati, Michigan passed under a new jurisdiction. For the purpose of ascertaining the distribution of Catholics in the Northwest and thus guiding the Bishop in the appointment of priests, Father Richard had made in the preceding year an extended journey through the territory under his care. A letter to Archbishop Maréchal gives the total Catholic population of his various parishes as about six thousand. In all that vast territory there were five churches and two priests—himself and his assistant. The missionary work of Father Richard, among the Indians as well as the white settlers, was unsurpassed by that of any one priest in the United States during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. "In fact," says Richard R. Elliot, "in no part of the country was there a field so extensive or so difficult of access as that extending from the head waters of Lake Erie to the Sault de Ste. Marie, which had been confided to his care under the metropolitan administrations of Archbishops Carroll, Neale, Maréchal, and Whitfield, and under Bishops Flaget and Fenwick."

To the close of his life Father Richard was active in the performance of his duties. When the Asiatic cholera, with its attendant train of suffering and misery, smote the people of Detroit in the summer of 1832, he devoted himself without reserve to the assistance of the sick and dying. Faithful to the members of his flock and desirous of their welfare, he forgot himself, until finally he fell a victim to the disease. With the words of holy Simeon on his lips he expired on September 13,

1832. Around his death-bed were gathered Bishop Fenwick and Fathers Baraga, Hotsher, and Badin. His death was regarded as a public calamity; and amid the solemn tolling of all the bells of the city, his remains were followed to the grave by a large concourse of people, including men of every class and every denomination. His body was temporarily laid in the cemetery, thence it was placed in a stone vault beneath the church which he had labored so hard to build. Here his remains rested until 1889, when they were transferred to the vault beneath the new church of St. Anne. A memorial window bearing an excellent likeness of him was also removed from the old church to a prominent place in the new.

His career was an enviable one. Bishop Fenwick said of him: "He was the oldest, the most respectable, and the most meritorious missionary in Michigan." Judge Campbell, who in his earlier days knew him, wrote: "He was not only a man of elegant learning, but of excellent common sense, and a very public-spirited citizen," and Judge Cooley paid him this tribute: "Father Richard, a faithful and devoted pastor, under many discouragements did what he found it in his power to do to restore or convert the people to Christianity, and to moral and decent lives. He would have been a man of mark in almost any community and at any time."

"MADAM PELE'S" AWE-INSPIRING VISIT TO KAU.

REV. CELESTINE N. RUAULT, who celebrated his golden jubilee as Catholic missionary in the District of Kau, Hawaiian Islands, on June 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1906, has furnished the following data regarding the memorable visit of "Madam Pele" to the district in 1868. The story of the terrible experiences of himself and his parishioners during the awful days succeeding the eruptions follows, but it may be of interest to many readers of his narration to preface this page of Hawaiian history by a few explanatory paragraphs.

"Madam Pele" is the Hawaiian goddess of all volcanic fires; she is the Creatress of the Hawaiian Isles, and is feared and respected even to this day by many natives of the "old stock." She started in on her wonderful work of creation in the northwestern end of this group and in time made one island after the other appear above the surface of the sea. After having extinguished all her fires, she moved her court to the spot now occupied by the largest island of our group—Hawaii. Here she had been holding forth from time immemorial, and now she is (occasionally) in full swing in the most southern portion of this, the last and largest one in the group, right on the confines of our dear Kau district. The volcano in which this dreaded deity reigns supreme is called in Hawaiian, *Lua Pele o Kilauea*.

In reading these reminiscences one is forcibly reminded of these soul-stirring words in Shakespeare:

. But that I am forbid
To tell the secrets of my prison-house,
I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul; freeze thy young blood;
Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres;
Thy knotted and combined locks to part,
And each particular hair to stand on end,
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine:
But this eternal blazon must not be
To ears of flesh and blood.

The continual volumes of smoke and steam; the intermittent, undulating, jerking, wave-like, and thumping earthquakes; the dreadful shower of cinders and ashes; the sudden lava and mud-flows and the yawning fissures and terrible splits in the crust of mother earth—all this will more than aid our imagination to understand the more readily the nervous excitement of the people that passed through this dreadful crucible.

On March 28, 1868 (Saturday), says Father Ruault, I was at Moaula, having arrived there the previous day from Hilea, my home or central mission chapel. I then went out, as I always do, among my parishioners, notifying them of my arrival and incidentally telling them when services would be held at the local chapel.

While on this spiritual errand, some natives drew my attention to a thing quite unusual. "Father, do you know or see anything strange?" they asked. "Just look at this." Then they picked up, to the right and left, handfuls of what is known as Pele's Hair. These are bunches of dark-brown, thread-like filaments formed in a very mysterious manner from molten lava, exceedingly brittle and easily rubbed into a vitreous powder. They are frequently found near the crater, within a radius of a few miles, but on this particular occasion they had rained through the atmosphere to a distance of fully thirty miles.

Proceeding on my way, I took notice, on divers occasions, that Madam Pele was seemingly quite busy in cooking her dread concoction. There was *prima facie* evidence of this everywhere. While chatting here and there to my people, who had gathered on their different stoops and verandas, I was, *nolens volens*, overtaken by a most violent earthquake. It was so violent that my mule, unaccustomed to such rough handling, wanted to lie down, with me on her back. I saw our natives' houses rocking like ships. Then there arose a pitiful wail and lamentation among the people, "Oh, what a terrible quaking! Oh, how dreadful this is! We never witnessed anything similar to this in our whole lives."

Yet this was only the beginning of the evil. The people

were hardly over their first fright when a dense cloud of black smoke arose toward the sea. After such a vicious quake we naturally thought that there would be an eruption or opening outlet—that a new crater would be formed down that way; we felt it to be a good omen, Hawaiian fashion, that as soon as Madam Pele took a sea-bath she would cool off and get over her anger. But our happy omen took another turn—it disappeared at its inception. In a few minutes the dark cloud had entirely vanished. We soon saw, to our utter dismay, that there was no eruption at the sea shore, as we had supposed, but the violent quake had shaken down a big hill and consequently raised that voluminous cloud of dust.

Excited by these unusual experiences, I became very anxious to learn the fate of my little chapel in the village at which I was sojourning. It was built of stone and was now, perhaps, in total ruins. I therefore concluded to discontinue the visits of my parishioners and to go immediately and do a little reconnoitering near the premises of my chapel. I made haste to get on an elevation which commanded a view of it. Thanks be to God, my chapel was still standing, and hurrying to the spot I was delighted to find that it had not been seriously damaged.

Under ordinary circumstances, I get back to my chapel at night, after I am through visiting all my people, and on the following morning am in the habit of hearing confessions, baptizing, etc. On this extraordinary occasion, owing to circumstances and the immediate danger of death, I invited those of my flock, who in their distress came to the chapel to find protection, to prepare at once, by a good confession, for anything almighty God might have in store for them. This invitation needed no repetition, for penitents came flocking to the holy tribunal of penance. While thus employed hearing the confessions of these good people filled with anguish and perturbation, another violent shock occurred. Some of the more panic-stricken rushed for the church doors, not trusting to the safety of the walls. Confessor and penitent alone remained in the church. There came a second and even a third stroke. These things are quickly printed and hastily read, but, merciful God,

what consternation and cold sweat these vicious shocks caused us! It seemed that there was an immense hole underneath the crust of the earth in which every now and then there was a furious surging of what seemed to be liquid fire. Much could be heard and terror only increased by putting one's ear to the ground. Such an infernal hissing, bubbling and furious raging! How insignificant man appeared then! Then we seemed to realize how dependent we were on the Supreme Being. Then we seemed to comprehend the enormity of our daily transgressions. We were at the mercy of the Creator. We smote our sinful breasts with compunction of heart, much as St. Peter of old did in his fragile bark in an infuriated sea. "Lord, save us or we perish."

I have seriously studied up those shocks. We were almost getting accustomed to them, and I am sure I am not exaggerating when I say that we felt more than fifteen hundred of Madam Pele's heavy thumps. People in our neighboring district—Kona—felt some of our shocks, but we of Kau were in for it. We felt the thumpings in their full vigor—Madam Pele's kitchen was below our very feet. It seemed to me that the intensity of the shock varied according to the size of the boulders hurled against the top of these subterranean holes. The force and frequency of these shocks naturally decreased after the crust had finally given way after resisting a fierce cannonade of at least a hundred violent bumps per day. Every stone wall in Kau was down; frame and thatched houses were demolished; crockery and glassware were all in atoms. Men and animals lay smitten on the ground.

The motions of the earth during a quake of any length are very interesting—after the danger is over. Such acrobatic maneuvering must be seen and felt to be understood. The earth's crust moved, at its inception, from north to south, then from east to west, then up and down, then a circular motion followed—all this happening in less time than it takes to tell, hardly fifteen seconds. Men groping on their stomachs spreading out their full width, holding on to grass and shrubs in a vain endeavor to steady themselves, trees and shrubs crashing

against and whipping each other in furious fashion. And all this followed by an ominous silence.

The destruction of Babel or of Jerusalem could hardly have equalled this. It is now almost forty years since almighty God gave me the grace to pass through this trying ordeal, but all the incidents connected therewith are so fresh in my old memory (I am seventy-four) as if they had occurred but yesterday. How grateful I am now, in my fast waning days, that almighty God gave me the necessary presence of mind, the courage and health to guide my poor flock in its sore time of trial—to pray, intercede, and weep with and for them. *Deo Gratias* for all this!

I beg the indulgence of my kind readers for this little deviation from my chapel where I left myself with my penitents. During these shocks, while I was in the confessional, I remember that I tried, instinctively, to ward off if possible the falling debris, or ruins of my church. I did so by covering my head and neck with my hands. It is quite natural for a man to do so, but should the worst have happened, had I for instance been buried with my penitent in the falling ruins, what a glorious death it would have been to have died in the fulfilment of an arduous sacerdotal duty. But apparently I was not yet to leave this sad vale of tears. I was destined to "see the whole show."

The following night passed quietly. The next morning some of my people came to holy Mass from Hilea. They told me that their church had been badly shaken and that the crucifix and the candles had been thrown on the floor. They also told me that in the neighborhood of Kahuku a hole had burst open, out of which great quantities of steam escaped. After our service was over, I repaired at once to Hilea and found things exactly as the natives had described them to me.

The next day (March 30th), I very much longed to see my other three chapels, all stone buildings and as such more exposed to be ruined by earthquakes. It did not take long to get to Honuapo (my next station) and there I saw my beautiful church, built on a solid bed of lava, still standing in its glory. Almighty God spared this edifice for a short time longer, evidently to give me a chance to prepare my local flock for their

passage to eternity. They all assembled and a great number of them made a contrite confession and the next morning received holy communion, which for many among them was their Holy Viaticum, for a few days later they were swept into eternity by a huge tidal wave. After having finished my ministrations here I headed for my next chapel in the village of Naohulua; as already stated this chapel was also made of stone. Although it was quite small (just thirty feet long) there is quite an interesting history attached to it.

In the beginning, when the local place of worship was but a grass hut, the Catholics of the place made arrangements with those of another village (Naalehu) to have Catholics of both places join hands in building a chapel at Waiohinu (a village between the two above-mentioned ones) equidistant from the two villages. All were well pleased with the project but there was a big hitch. The first thing to be procured was a site for the would-be chapel. A very suitable one was found, and could be had for \$300. But unfortunately, before the bargain was struck, the Protestant minister of Waiohinu got wind that Catholics were the willing buyers, whose ultimate intention was to erect thereon a Papist house, where Mariolatry, idolatry, and many other things could be practiced. Of course that settled the question right there and then. He opposed the sale and prevailed on the intending seller not to part with his property. Bigotry ran so high, and so strong were the feeling and prejudice, that in all Waiohinu not a piece of land could be had for a Catholic chapel. Therefore this little stone chapel at Naohulua was built. It was a big job. The seashore was far away, but we had to go there to get coral to bake it into lime and to pack it on our backs and carry it to this village, over paths fit only for goats. Then sand and stone had to be procured at the same place and over the same path, water had to be carried in buckets and gourds; all this had to be done before the regular work of erecting the chapel could be proceeded with. Our architect-in-chief was one of the mission Brothers, one Brother Charles (may God rest his soul!); with the aid of some good natives that volunteered, the work was happily completed.

Later on they fenced in the church lot with some dry stone, about four or five feet high, but in less than a year this was leveled to the ground by an earthquake.

On arriving at this chapel, I was delighted to see that it had not suffered any damage. My next and last chapel was inspected with not so much happiness, for the walls had cracks two inches wide in some places. This chapel had been erected under hardships similar to those mentioned in connection with the chapel previously described.

Having finished the entire inspection of all my chapels in Kau and seen to the spiritual wants of all my people, I resolved to stay, especially since there was some painting being done at the time. While here at Kamaoa I found the shocks just as strong, if not stronger, than in the places previously visited. That these shocks were subterranean I had no doubt, but whether they were infernal or not, I will leave to my patient readers. Be it as it may, our nerves were entirely unstrung by this time, especially so at night. They are actually dreadful then, when you are rudely awakened by a mighty shaking and made to think that your last hour has arrived. In your terror you try to make the best act of contrition you ever made. This prayerful drama of compunction is repeated five or six times during the night—that is, every time a severe shock occurs. Your terror increases and your prayer is all the more fervent when you hear that frightful, unearthly roar at night, when you feel the earth heaving and swelling, and when you hear the crash of the neighboring walls tumbling in the dead silence. During the day-time one has always more confidence.

Being only a short distance from the place where, on the first day of this visitation, such a great amount of steam issued forth from out of the earth, I resolved to investigate this new creation. I found indeed a hole about eighteen feet in diameter and of what appeared to be of immense depth; for on dropping a good-sized rock into it I could not hear any kind of thud. I therefore concluded that it was a "freak of nature." At length came what may be called a "red letter" day of 1868.

Early the following morning a small vessel from Honolulu

was in sight. I hastened to pen a few lines to our headquarters at the capital city, giving them a full detail of Madam Pele's transactions here in Kau. In winding up I told them that I thought the old lady had done her best, and that all was now over. Alas! man often proposes, but God disposes, and so it was in this case. The almighty Stage-manager informed us shortly afterwards that that was only intended to have been the first act in this awful drama. That letter of mine had hardly got aboard when lo and behold! there came a terrific shock, which for violence and impetuosity must be considered No. 1. All other shocks were mere trifles compared to this one. For once I could not stay in my house; hurrying outside, I found that I could not stand; I was fast getting into my second childhood. I therefore tried my baby tricks and endeavored to crawl on all fours. Even then I would hardly succeed.

While in this position, and holding on tight to old mother earth, I saw my dear chapel giving way to the impetuous wrenchings of the earthquake. Happily for all concerned this shock was cut short, or we could not have lived.

After this came a great calm which seemed but to add to our terror in this already too sinister situation. No noise of any kind, no wind, no sign of life, no action was noticeable. Turning toward the mountain I saw numberless columns of smoke rushing out of ever so many crevices in the mountain-side. Perhaps this was an indication of our salvation. The pressure of the subterranean steam ought naturally to abate as soon as it finds a vent in the surface.

Shortly after this the members of my chapel arrived, shedding tears over the ruins of the edifice. What could we do but pray and adore almighty God in this terrible visitation? We retired into the priest's house, and said our beads piously; then I made a few remarks in harmony with the situation, after which they went home.

They had hardly reached there when the news arrived that a tidal wave had wiped Honuapo from the face of the earth, killing many. I hastily saddled my mule and got en route for Honuapo. It may be, thought I, that somebody is in need of

me. On my way thither I met several natives that had escaped from Honuapo in good time. They told me that it was useless for me to go, for there was no village there any more, and that seventeen natives had been carried out to sea by a tidal wave and were drowned. They likewise told me that the church no longer existed. I kept on my way, nevertheless, feeling rather sad about my beautiful chapel, which after having withstood the ravages of the earthquakes had finally become the prey of a tidal wave. On all sides I saw nothing but havoc. Oh, how sad and heavy at heart one feels amid so much desolation! On the way I passed Waiohinu; there I saw the Protestant church in ruins. I passed a man with a bundle under his arm—possibly all he possessed in this world. To this man I tried to speak, but could not get a syllable out of him—possibly he had lost his speech from fright. At the next village, Naalehu, I was again told the news of the Honuapo disaster—that all houses, churches, and seventeen lives were lost. The people at this place invited me to stay with them, but seeing that it was a beautiful moonlight night, I thanked them for their kindness and proceeded on my way. On my arrival at Honuapo I found nothing but indescribable ruin. The ocean had indeed entered and flooded all Honuapo, wrenching everything from it, even the layer of soil on the lava. Only a few solitary heaps of stones remained where once stood a flourishing settlement of natives.

What was I to do now? I started calling at the top of my voice—perhaps there was still one among the living to whom I could speak. At length I had the satisfaction of seeing some one approach, but not a native of Honuapo; he came from Hilea and was seeking his wife. Alas, she was among the tidal wave victims!

Nothing could be done at Honuapo, although I have had the satisfaction of seeing for myself the extent of the damage. So I went on toward Hilea. I could not go very far, as the road was made impassible by the action of a furious sea. I therefore was obliged to take a path on the mountain-side. All at once I was aroused from my reverie by another violent shock, fully as strong as any of the foregoing ones. The bushes along

my path actually whipped my mule into a frenzy, he making for the top of the hill. It was my good fortune that I went up-hill; had I been headed down-hill, there is no telling what would have happened, but as it was I soon got control of the frantic beast. After this little incident on my way to Hilea, wherever I found human habitations I invariably found the natives stretched out on the lawns to sleep, no longer trusting to the safety of their houses. Arriving at Hilea, my central mission, I found several natives camping on our premises. The chapel had shifted a little, my house had lost some of its under-pinnings and in consequence was quite shaky. The following morning I was happy to be able to say Mass, and since my people did not trust the chapel any more than their own houses, I went outside on the lawn under a spreading "kukui tree" to hear their confessions. I could not cease thinking about my Honuapo chapel; I always had a special predilection for it. And as I might be just as useful in one place as in another, I thought I would go relic-hunting at Honuapo. I got there without mishap and found the place quite deserted. Just one person I found who had come there for the same purpose. All the others had gone to a place of shelter among their friends. On the chapel-site there was not the slightest mark of its former presence, but we recognized some of the stones. Having mortar still attached to them, we knew they belonged to our chapel. We found two relics—only two. One was in the shape of an Hawaiian prayer-book, and the other was the bell, which had been carried to and fro by the waves and finally landed on the sandy shore. That bell did good service before and is doing service at present after its watery experience in the tidal waves almost forty years ago.

We also found the corpse of one of my former friends, whom I had baptized shortly before. It was not an easy job to bury him, there being but two of us. We were without tools, and worse still, there was no soil in which to dig a grave, the wave having taken every bit of soil from the solid lava. Fortunately we found a ready-made grave for him—a deep fissure in the lava, caused by the action of the earthquakes. Into this hole

we put him tenderly, and as we had no soil we put the next best over his mortal remains—stones, which were plentiful, and after having prayed the *De Profundis* for him and all the faithful departed of my recent flock, I left this sad place and went home to Hilea again.

I had not got there any too soon, for my natives were very much perturbed by the prophesy of one of the native *kahunas* (sorcerers) that an awful eruption would take place in this vicinity. They found it very hard not to believe him. I used my best endeavors to quiet them and I think I partially succeeded. This night we passed tranquilly. The following morning I had the good fortune to again celebrate holy Mass, and after that to hear confessions, but, of course, outside on the lawn under the kukui tree. Many people passed our mission; afterwards I was sorry for not having invited them in, for I was told that they put up at an old *kahuna's*. This *kahuna* was a heathen high priest of King Kamehameha. Although this great *kahuna* was also a convert, I nevertheless feared that under the circumstances he might not be able to resist the temptation of returning to old heathenish, superstitious practices. But I was rejoiced later on to find out that I had no reason to fear, for they did nothing more there that night than say their Catholic prayers. The next day I was informed that my chapel at Moaula had been demolished, not one stone being left on the other. I also learned that the tidal wave had visited all along the coast and had done more or less damage everywhere, destroying property and killing many people.

The people told me that there was a mud-flow quite near Moaula, covering a number of houses together with about thirty people. Only one person escaped and that was a sick woman, whose confession I had heard last Saturday (the first day of the earthquake). Almighty God evidently had pity on her, for the flow divided above her house and met again below her house, thereby forming a complete oasis for her personal benefit. Sunday we passed quietly. The natives did not come as plentifully as usual. They had evidently scattered about the different parts

of the district on account of the disaster. Others were kept home by fear.

The following night, after the people had said their night-prayers, they all went to sleep, as usual, outside of their houses. I remained in my house and went to bed. At about midnight I awoke to find my mouth and nostrils filled with some kind of sticky material. My house had recently been whitewashed, and I was inclined to attribute my sensation to the strong smell of lime. While I was cogitating on the taste in my mouth, a native entered my room quite unannounced and requested me to come outside and watch a very queer phenomenon. Following him I saw that a floury kind of stuff had been falling which was plainly visible in the bright moonlight. One was able to write and trace figures in it. I thought to myself: "Well, we are having experiences with volcanoes and no one can tell what is yet in store for us. This might possibly become a second Vesuvius, raining forth ashes to such an extent as to completely cover us up—dwellings and all."

Behold my intellectual panorama—Vesuvius and Kilauea, Pompeii and Hilea. Are we going to have the same fate? I philosophized, thought and cogitated; I thought out plans and strained my thinking powers to devise a remedy, if at all possible. In this state of mind I was meandering about, seeking an elevation which would give me a glance of the top of the mountain. I might possibly be able to discover whether there was immediate danger. The people of their own accord had started in to say their beads. While I was on my errand reconnoitering I noticed a woman whose mind became unhinged from fright. She upbraided me for not praying. I told her that I was continually praying, and at the same time trying to find some means of escape for all of them, if possible. I met still another one that was out of her mind, but fortunately she was asleep, or the two might have combined to attack me. While on my way to the elevation I was seeking, I frequently wrote on the rocks covered with this wonderful ashes. When I got to the place I sought I saw indications of very clear and bright weather. I went home, assured that there was no proxi-

mate danger. Retracing my steps with my mind at ease, and finding my good people all asleep on the lawn encircling the chapel I thought I, too, would go to sleep.

The next morning on arising and looking toward the sea, I saw a strangely dark, heavy cloud such as I had never before observed. I immediately thought this to be a cloud of ashes, the same as the one that had been raining over us last night. After my Mass, and after having confessed a few more of my parishioners under my spreading kukui tree, all of us were startled by a strange noise coming from the bowels of the earth, accompanied by a moderate tremor, much like one would experience on the top of a tunnel when a heavy train is rushing through. This lasted for fully half an hour. There was quite an old native man on our premises at the time; he was badly frightened—in fact he was trembling in every limb. He could hardly speak, but what he did manage to utter was:

"Of all my many experiences with earthquakes (and I have felt many a one) I have never experienced anything similar to this."

I did not think it right to stay long at one place during this affliction, as I wished to give all my parishioners an equal allotment of my time. I took notice that this awe-inspiring drama had a very beneficial effect on my people, for the Almighty spoke to them from the top of the mountain, even as He did to the Israelites of old, with a voice not accompanied by thunder and lightning but with a voice far more terrible. Oh, how many contrite confessions, how many returns to God of really hard cases! So many genuine acts of contrition! So many prayers and ejaculations! They all learned a very good lesson, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." Death menacing them from below, from above, from the sea, no safety anywhere, it was therefore wise on their parts to prepare for the worst.

I was now at a place between Hilea and Naalehu. I found traces of volcanic ashes. There were quite a number of Catholics at this place, and while I was hearing confessions many more came. It was natural for them to seek me. I could see that they wished me to remain with them. This night it did

not need much coaxing to get me to stay, for it was fast growing dark and I had found out how foolhardy it was to travel at night, there being more and more crevices and yawning chasms created by the action of the earthquakes. One might pass into eternity before one was aware that he fell into a chasm. I therefore stayed with the people. They started the beads of their own accord, in two sections, one section turned *vis-a-vis* to the other. After we were through, I happened to look toward the top of the mountain and there I saw a lurid light reflected on the clouds. That was the start of an eruption of our volcano. I wondered very much that the section of our people that had their faces turned toward the mountain did not take notice of that and sound the alarm. They actually showed no signs of emotion whatever. But they later on told me that the dreadful sight caused them so much consternation that they felt paralyzed all over and could not speak. The younger ones in our camp got on their horses and hastened to take in the sight, but I concluded to wait for new developments. I soon noticed in what direction the lava flows would come down. My Kamaoa Catholics had the sad assurance that their village would most certainly be visited by this fiery fiend. They told me later on, when I got there, that they hastily picked up what belongings they could carry to a place of safety. They saw that they had no time to lose, for this lava stream flowed almost as fast as water. In fact in a couple of hours the flow had reached their houses and destroyed them. While this flow was in process frightful reports, compared to which the one hundred and one cannon-shot reports which I heard at Paris in 1856 when the Imperial Prince was born were as mere snaps of one's fingers, were heard in countless numbers. This noise was a perfect enigma to us. Some of the solons in our camp thought the reports were caused by the imprisoned steam forcing its way through the upper, cooled-off crust of the flow. Be that as it may, the reports finally stopped and I thought I would now go and investigate "the cause and effect," as far as it would be advisable for inquisitive man.

In order to reach my destination I had to pass Waiohinu.

I found that village completely deserted, not a living soul, not even a dog or cat could be met with. All had camped out on a neighboring hill. I went up on the hill to see them; there they were sheep without pastor. Their (Protestant) pastor had chosen to be on the safe side of this fiery question. He lost his presence of mind quite early, and on the third day he lost even his "presence of body," for he boarded a schooner bound for the capital city. This pastor was a white man. There was likewise a native minister here in my district and he fled to Hilo, some ninety miles away from here.

I was very much interested in Waiohino, for in the beginning it had been next to impossible to get a foothold there, owing to my reverend friend's antagonism. But we were victorious in the end. A few days after the disaster, the piece of land for which we offered \$300 spot cash was sold to another party for \$250, and that on credit. Thereupon one of our Catholics, a relative of the seller, went to him and expostulated with him for his way of treating the Catholics and at the same time asking him whether three hundred Catholic dollars of ready money were not as good as the two hundred and fifty Protestant dollars on credit. He acknowledged his mistake and answered, "Oh, never mind; I have still another piece for sale and you can have it for \$100." The brave Protestant friend of mine had not yet got back from the capital city; in fact, he did not come back for a couple of months, and by that time we were in peaceful possession. A chapel and school dedicated to the Sacred Heart now ornament it. And at the present writing the school has grown to such dimensions that we are being obliged to put up a new and much more spacious school-house.

But to return to my narrative: I was in quest of the Wai-ohinu people who had fled to a hill. From the top of this hill the mouth of the crater could be plainly seen. It was not vomiting forth any more lava, but was emitting voluminous clouds of smoke. I missed the terrible sight of a volcano in action, which is particularly grand during the darkness of night, but there was still another in store, although less imposing. The lava-flow had set fire to the Kamaoa plains, where grass was

very abundant. This grassy plain on fire was a grand sight. Our local chapel, partly destroyed by the earthquake, could not be reached by the fire, for it was surrounded by a great stone wall; although this had been almost leveled to the ground it was nevertheless a barrier to the flames.

Now I will relate to my readers some remarkable escapes similar to the one related about the mud-flow at Moaula. There was quite an old native living some eight or ten miles from the mouth of the crater. When he saw that the flow was making a bee-line for his domicile, he hastily took what he considered the most precious of his household, his wife, who was very feeble and stone blind in the bargain, and endeavored to carry her to a place of safety. But alas! the flow was too fast for him; he was cut short, he could not proceed. He hurried in the opposite direction. Here, too, he found another molten, red-hot stream cutting off all chances of escape. What was he to do now? Weary of limb and sick at heart, he returned to his miserable shack and there, resigned to what was coming, he patiently awaited his fate, to be cremated alive. But almighty God had pity on him. Just a few yards above his hut the flow divided and encircled his shack and united again several feet below it. Thus a circle of about fifty yards in diameter formed an oasis to protect this worthy old couple. Minor streams from the main flow actually encroached a little on this oasis. The old couple were uncomfortably warm for the time being, but they passed through this trying ordeal unscathed.

Now before winding up my already too long narrative, may I be allowed to venture an opinion and try to explain that mysterious noise, that subterranean rush accompanied by the tremor that almost caused the old native to collapse?

I have since learned that that subterranean noise of thirty minutes' duration took place simultaneously with the fast sinking of the molten lava in the crater. It sunk completely out of sight in the bottom of the crater. Then followed that mad subterranean rush, or underground flow. There was no more fire, no more smoke in Kilauea, the crater. Old Madam Pele traveled within the bowels of mother earth to Kahuku, a distance of sixty

miles, and there she started the racket, causing an eruption, and vomiting forth that quantity of red-hot lava that flowed down past my old native who tried to carry his wife to a place of safety. That was the flow that set the plains afire. So we were right after all when we said that the noise sounded like that caused by a fast train running through a tunnel. We were indeed on a tunnel that time. The fast running train was the immense quantity of molten lava rushing underground from one place to another. It therefore took Madam Pele exactly thirty minutes to rush her train to Kahuku—sixty miles underground.

The terrible news of the Kau disaster traveled fast; the little schooner that carried the Protestant minister to Honolulu hastened to spread the news far and wide. Our fright was at last over, for Madam had reached the sea and was enjoying her bath; she has apparently cooled off and does not trouble us any more. Of course, we feel shocks every now and then. Windows rattle and lamps stagger occasionally, but they do not mean anything serious. And even if they did, where will you run away from almighty God? We, therefore, try to make the best of it.

When His Majesty the King heard of our troubles, he at once chartered a schooner and had it loaded with clothes, food, lumber and provisions of all kinds. His Lordship, Bishop Maigret, immediately took passage for Kau, to study up our situation and administer relief as far as he was able. He told me to pull down all that remained of my Kamaoa chapel. I therefore had three chapels and one priest's house to rebuild. The King had sent his Minister to distribute the relief funds, and incidentally I may mention that I was chosen a member of the relief committee. This committee was only discharged after several months—or until the natives had another crop coming.

In winding up, I return sincere thanks to our good Lord for the strength and courage with which He blessed me during this affliction. I am satisfied that I tried to do my duty. *Deo Gratias!*¹

¹ We return our thanks to Mr. Joseph Dutton, Baldwin Home, Kalawao, Hawaii, S.I., for placing this matter at our disposal.

HENRY JAMES ANDERSON, M.D., LL.D.

BY THOMAS F. MEEHAN, A.M.

No record of the work of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in New York would be complete which does not include an appreciation of the man who was, for many years, its local executive and during most of the last half of the nineteenth century the leading Catholic layman of the metropolis, Dr. Henry James Anderson, Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, scientist and educator; one of the most distinguished converts won to the true Faith in New York during the century.

Born in New York, February 6, 1799, he died of cholera during a visit, on a scientific expedition, at Lahore, Northern Hindostan, October 19, 1875. His body was brought back some months later to his native city for burial. Perhaps no better idea of the man and of his character can be given than that epitomized in the official record then made by the Catholic Union and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the two organizations of laymen of which he had been the head during many years of his active, useful life.

The Catholic Union was a society organized to care for Catholic interests in general and specially to vindicate the rights of the Holy See and voice the indignation of American Catholics at its spoliation. At a meeting of members held in New York on January 13, 1876, this resolution was adopted:

"The Catholic Union of New York has learned with profound and sincere regret of the death of its late president, Henry James Anderson, LL.D., Knight Commander of St. Gregory the Great.

"That, distinguished in letters and eminent in the field of science, the illustrious deceased valued these attainments as nothing when weighed against a knowledge of the true Faith which he happily acquired after a long and searching examination in the very prime of his intellect.

"That, having entered the portals of that Church, he bowed

down, with all his learning, humbly before the altar and thenceforth 'looked from nature up to nature's God,' putting to shame those men whose knowledge is vanity, who seek by impious sophistries to pervert others, and, in the words of St. Peter, 'make merchandise of them' (II. Peter ii. 3).

"That the Catholics of New York remember with affection and acknowledge with gratitude the active interest our late president took in every movement having for its object the promotion of religion, the advancement of the Church or the amelioration of the condition of the poor or unfortunate, in which direction his zeal was continued unabated throughout all the years of his Catholic life.

"That the evidence of this zeal abounds everywhere in our midst. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul bears testimony to it, the Catholic Protectory records it, and this Union, which is mainly indebted to him for its organization and to his supervision as its president for its usefulness, hereby publicly acknowledges his valuable services and the patient, cordial and earnest cooperation which he bestowed in the prosecution of its work."

The Superior Council of New York of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul met at its office, No. 33 Warren street, on January 8, and the minutes make this record:

"The Superior Council of New York, uniting in feelings of sorrow with the other Catholic societies and associations in the city of New York, has heard with deep grief of the death of its late president, Henry James Anderson, LL.D., which took place at Lahore, India, on the 19th of October, 1875. Dr. Anderson left this, his native city, in the spring of last year with the purpose, as one of the pilgrims, of journeying with them in manifesting to the Holy Father in person the devotion of his children in these United States and then of traveling in the East. Though he was in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and for many years had been at times a sufferer from a painful disease, we might have reasonably expected from our friend a return from his travels and a prolongation of his life of honor and usefulness. Therefore it is that his death is to us a greater affliction.

"Dr. Anderson was a person of such varied accomplishments and so conspicuous in all the relations of life, social, literary, scientific and religious, that the expression of this sentiment by no one class of his former friends can do him full justice. It

becomes this Council, therefore, to limit itself to his relations to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. He was an active member of the Society from the time of his conversion to the Catholic Church; was afterwards for two years the president of the Conference of St. Francis Xavier; when the Particular Council was organized in 1856 he became its president and when this Superior Council was instituted in 1860, he was naturally named to hold the highest position within the circumspection.

"In these positions he remained until the time of his death. To his example, influence and labors the Society is much indebted, humanly speaking, for its great success and present prosperous condition. In its infancy he was a constant and zealous worker in its behalf; in later years, when his numerous engagements and increasing infirmities made it necessary for him to call upon his colleagues to relieve him to some extent, his interest in the Society and his active character in connection with it remained unchanged. Appreciating all his virtues and especially his zeal and services as a Vincentian, we, the members of the Superior Council, resolve:

"First, that we have heard with deep regret of the death of Dr. Henry James Anderson, who was to this Council a wise adviser and guide, a gentle and prudent presiding officer and to us individually a kind and sympathetic friend.

"Second, that we propose to ourselves and the members of the Society the character of Dr. Anderson as one most worthy of our tender remembrance and earliest imitation, a character which was marked by unaffected humility, sincere conscientiousness and unobtrusive charity."

Such was the judgment of the man arrived at by those most intimately associated with him during the latter half of his life. He made his studies at Columbia College, New York, where he graduated with the highest honors in 1818. He then took a course in medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, obtaining his degree in 1823. He did not practice but devoted his time to mathematical investigation, to which his inclination led him. In 1825 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy at Columbia College, a position he filled with honor and success for twenty-five years, during which period many men prominent afterward in public life were his pupils. He had remarkable linguistic accomplishments, being versed not only in the classics but many of the

modern languages of continental Europe and their dialects as well. He made numerous trips abroad and in 1848, while on a visit to the Holy Land, he acted as geologist to the United States Dead Sea Exploring Expedition, commanded by Lieutenant W. F. Lynch of the Navy. The results were collected and published by the United States Government under the title, "Geology of Lieut. Lynch's Expedition to the Dead Sea" and "Geological Reconnaissance of Part of the Holy Land."

In the following year, while in France, he met the astronomer Arago, and it was at this time he became a Catholic. He had been for many years a searcher for faith. He went about his quest in the careful, systematic way characteristic of the bent of his exact, mathematical mind. He examined critically the teachings and beliefs of each sect and tried to reduce faith to a mathematical formula, reached rationally by syllogistic analysis. But the conclusion did not satisfy his keen intellect. Then, according to the story told by his old pupil and life long friend, Abram S. Hewitt, to whom he had confided his experience, he made up his mind that the Catholic Church was the only logical spiritual haven and the infallible and divinely inspired repository of the Truth to which all his investigations pointed. Having reached this certainty, he hesitated no longer. He at once sought admission into the Church and, having been enrolled among her children, the simplicity and loyalty of his faith was ever after one of his most distinguished characteristics. He accepted implicitly all the teachings of Catholicity without cavil, question or contradiction.

In 1851 he was elected a trustee of Columbia College and, having held for twenty-five years its chair of mathematics and astronomy, he resigned this position and was named the Emeritus Professor of these branches so as to retain his association with the institution. He then went abroad in a vain search for health for his devoted wife. His intimate connection with the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Catholic Union has been already noted. It may be said that the inception of the great New York Catholic Protectory for the care of dependent and neglected children, thousands of whom, before its institution,

had been led away from the Church by proselytizing non-Catholic organizations, was due to his zeal and energy.

In 1859, when the Rev. William Clowry was directed to establish the new parish of St. Gabriel, Dr. Anderson donated eight lots in East Thirty-seventh Street, valued at \$25,000, as a site for the proposed church. In October of the same year he gave the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, whose devoted friend he was, \$16,000 to purchase the old Prime estate, on the East River at Ninetieth Street, where their present convent is located. As a recognition of his efforts here and in other philanthropic and charitable enterprises the Pope sent him the decoration of a Knight of St. Gregory the Great. In 1874 he joined the first American Pilgrimage to Rome and Lourdes which left New York May 16, and when it disbanded late in June he went to Australia to observe at his own expense the transit of Venus. On his homeward journey by way of India, where he accomplished the ascent of one of the Himalaya peaks, he was, soon after reaching Lahore, stricken with the malignant disease that proved fatal. His adopted daughter, who was his companion on the trip, brought his body back to New York, where it arrived on January 16, 1876. Funeral services took place at St. Patrick's Cathedral on January 19, attended by the largest and most notable gathering that up to that time had ever been present in the Cathedral at the funeral of a layman.

The Right Rev. M. A. Corrigan, Bishop of Newark, N. J., was the celebrant of the Mass, His Eminence Cardinal McCloskey presiding. The pall-bearers were ex-Governor John A. Dix, F. A. P. Barnard, president of Columbia College, Professor Henry Drisler, the dean of its faculty; William O'Brien, James Lynch, Jeremiah Devlin, Louis B. Binsse, and Henry L. Hognet. Many distinguished citizens of all denominations were present. The sermon was preached by Cardinal McCloskey in the course of which he said:

"In the outside world the name of Dr. Anderson is naturally associated with that of the accomplished scholar, the eminent scientist, the genial friend, the lover of his country and the benefactor of his kind. But here we do not care to speak of

these qualities because they all sleep with him in the grave. We prefer to speak of those qualities of heart and mind which have not died with him, but which shine more brightly now and through the merits of which he has won an everlasting crown. His virtues were very many. It is safe to say that one thing influenced his life, especially since he was received into the Catholic Church, and that was his earnest, sincere Catholic Christianity. Hardly one of her children accepted more fully every truth and doctrine or listened with more docility to all her teachings, or strove more faithfully to live up to her standard. With all this earnest faith he was most tolerant to all. I do not know that I ever heard him say a harsh, reproachful word. He was seldom known to speak of faults; he preferred silence to fault-findings. His faith was that of the Scriptures animated by charity. He was not puffed up by all his learning. I remember to have heard from the lips of a distinguished Oxford scholar that he never met a man of greater learning tempered with such humility. He was benevolent to a great degree, especially to the poor. He was president of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, president of the Catholic Union and president of the Catholic Protectory, and he gave his time to these institutions with as much readiness and zeal as though he was laboring for his own personal aggrandizement. He was a great favorite with the Holy Father who was always pleased to see him. On what proved to be his last journey, he saw the Holy Father twice. He went to Rome as a pilgrim of science. He has gone and has left a void in the Church and in society. How much we feel his loss, witness this vast concourse, come to pay him the tribute of their sorrow. He has left the sweet memory of his merits, a legacy more valuable than precious gems, and in parting we may say, 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for their works shall follow them.'"

Dr. Anderson had a residence at Fort Lee, N. J., where he was a generous benefactor to the parish of the Madonna. He gave the land on which the church was built about 1858 and also very materially aided in the construction of the edifice. His remains were buried in a vault under the church. In October, 1879, his old home nearby on the Palisades, overlooking the Hudson, was purchased by the School Sisters of Notre Dame for their convent in connection with the Institute of the Holy Angels which they established there. None of Dr. Anderson's family

followed his example in accepting the Catholic Faith. In addition to the geological works above cited and published by the United States Government, his principal writings were contributions to the "New York Quarterly Review" and to mathematical journals.

Dr. Anderson married the daughter of the famous Italian poet Lorenzo Da Ponte, who wrote the librettos for Mozart's "Don Giovanni" and "Le Nozze di Figaro." Da Ponte was the son of a Jew leather dealer named Jeremiah Conegliano and his wife Rachel Pincherie. His own name was Emmanuel. When he was fourteen years old the whole family became Catholics and were baptized, August 20, 1763, in the Cathedral of Ceneda, Italy. The Bishop of that See, observing the talents of the lad, gave him his own name and undertook his education at the local seminary where he remained five years. He then went to Venice and afterwards to Treviso where he taught rhetoric in the University. Political troubles drove him to Germany and thence to Vienna. Here he met Mozart and joined forces with him in producing the immortal operas. More difficulties forced him to leave for London. Having married an Englishwoman, he had a troubled career there of a couple of years which ended in his emigration to New York where he arrived June 4, 1805 (Marchesan, "Della Vita e delle Opere di Lorenzo da Ponte," Treviso, 1900).

In this city he tried his fortune as a teacher of the Italian language and literature. He was the first American instructor and commentator on "The Divine Comedy." He enjoyed the friendship of many people of refinement and social standing and was made professor of Italian literature at Columbia College, of which his future son-in-law was one of the faculty. He died at No. 91 Spring street, August 17, 1838, and was buried in the old Catholic cemetery in Eleventh Street. A recent investigation showed that the grave was never marked and can not now be located.

Dr. Anderson's children were Edward, Henry, and Elbert Ellery Anderson. The latter was a well-known member of the Bar and a prominent Democratic politician.

Univ. of
California

TO THE
ANGLO-INDIAN



REV. P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

LETTERS OF REV. P. J. DE SMET, S.J., NOW
PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME.

(Continued.)

TRANSLATED BY JOHN E. CAHALAN, A.M.

A. M. D. G.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, January 7, 1849.

MADAME:

On my return from a visit to several Indian nations, particularly the Poncas and the numerous tribes of the Sioux, who inhabit the extensive territory of the Upper Missouri, I found your welcome letter, which you had the great kindness to send me. The alms which you bestow so liberally will be of the greatest assistance to commence the new enterprises we contemplated. The Lord alone can reward you for your charity towards these poor benighted Indians; we can only endeavor to call down blessings and the continuation of heavenly favors on you and on your whole family. For years have I prayed to obtain this end. During this year on Friday and Saturday of every week I will offer up for your intention the Most Holy Sacrifice of the Altar. The Fathers who are destined for the missions which we are about to commence at the end of next April, among the Sioux and Black-feet, will each say sixty Masses for your intention. It is by these spiritual means alone, means indeed very dear to us, that we are able to show our gratitude. I hope our divine Lord and Master will render you a hundred fold for all you do to propagate and to augment His greater honor and glory.

I hasten then to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of the 29th of August and to return to you, in the name of the Indians and of the Missionaries, our most sincere thanks.

Receive as a New Year's gift, for you and your two daughters, the godmothership of upwards of three hundred little Indian children I lately had the happiness of regenerating in the holy waters of Baptism, and be prepared, dear Madame, for a still larger share next summer. I know you pray constantly for them and you will continue to draw the blessing of Heaven upon the humble labors of the Indian missionary. I am happy to be able to communicate to you a few remarks on the subject of Indian missions, in which you feel so deeply interested and for which you perform so many noble deeds of charity.

Shortly after my arrival in St. Louis, last July, it being too late to start out for the Rocky Mountains, I obtained permission from my Superiors to pay a visit, previously promised, to the Sioux nation, and to several of the neighboring tribes. The Lord has singularly favored my mission. I had the happiness of returning to my brethren in tolerable health and good spirits, after a long and arduous excursion of about three thousand miles, mostly over a wild desert amid many dangers. Should time allow me I may at some future period send you a full account of my journey. My presence among them was truly hailed by these benighted children of the plains as a special favor from Heaven. They beheld in the poor Black-gown before them a messenger of the Great Spirit. They manifested their joy and gratitude by numerous feasts over which I was made to preside. As a token of friendship, they frequently lighted and presented to me the calumet of peace and fraternity. These marks of respect were concluded with songs and dances of a most grotesque character—truly Indian—which became tiresome by their monotony and frequent repetition.

During my short sojourn among these Indians, I endeavored to take advantage of this favorable disposition towards me, by touching upon those points of our holy religion which were best calculated to excite in them an ardent desire of knowing more fully and putting in practice the saving truths of the Gospel. I spoke to them of the Great Spirit, of the creation, the end of man, the Birth, Life and Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. It was really a heart-moving scene to witness the tender devotion

with which they embraced my missionary crucifix, making, at the same time, the most solemn invocations to Heaven, when I touched upon those points of our holy Faith. I also spoke to them of the Illustrious Head of the Church, Pio Nono (whose medal I presented to them), and of the Black-gowns whom he, in the name of the Great Invisible Chief, sent to enlighten all the nations of the earth.

I found these poor children of the desert deeply plunged into a shocking state of moral degradation. In their wars, which are frequent, they commit the most ferocious cruelties; in the depredations which they almost daily inflict upon the neighboring tribes, every feeling of humanity seems to have been stifled within their breasts, and their moral conduct is most depraved. Oh! what barbarous superstition, what ignorance and degradation among these creatures formed to the image of God! The greatest efforts of human power to raise those poor benighted savages from their fallen condition are but the struggles of an infant. I do not exaggerate in saying that they have only the forms of men. But may we not hope that the divine image of the Creator, now alas! almost entirely obliterated, will recover its original, its pristine beauty, under the all-powerful hand of that Being who presided at their creation and who purchased them with the price of His Precious Blood. With the assistance of Heaven, aided by your good prayers, by those of your family, and of your numerous pious friends, may we not expect for these unhappy barbarians, who have shown so much respect and esteem for a poor priest, merely on account of his character, that they will not resist the grace of God, and may we not expect to find them cheerfully joining the standard of our divine Master, a happy period which forms the subject of their most ardent wishes and longing desires?

I have, however, well grounded fears regarding the obstacles which we shall meet in endeavoring to establish our holy Faith among them. These obstacles will, I am satisfied, prove more numerous and more difficult than what we have encountered west of the Rocky Mountains; but on our part

there must in consequence be more courage, more ardent prayer, greater patience and perseverance.

If nothing occurs to frustrate the designs of our Superiors, especially if we obtain the means of carrying these designs into effect, I feel great pleasure in announcing to you that, towards the end of April or in the beginning of May, two missions will be commenced; one among the Sioux of the Upper Missouri, numbering thirty thousand souls, the other among the Blackfeet, consisting of about twelve thousand. These inhabit the plains that separate the Missouri and its upper northern tributaries, from the south branch of the Saskatchewan extending as far as the Rocky Mountains, and are the next neighbors, eastward, of the Flat-heads and Koetenays.

The immense good to be accomplished in these distant countries, in saving souls for God and in rendering man more happy upon earth even from a temporal point of view, is a work truly grand and noble. But to realize these noble designs so consoling to religion and humanity we require men and means. Europe, convulsed to its very centre, in her delirium persecutes and drives out the anointed ministers of God, who are thus compelled to seek refuge in this more sacred land of true liberty. To the folly of Europe then are we indebted for an unusual number of evangelical laborers, especially priests. But unfortunately for the foreign missions this assistance is rendered almost unavailable in consequence of those senseless, impious, unjust persecutions in the old world, which have cut off almost completely our last resource, in depriving us of the alms which the Association of the Faith at Lyons was yearly accustomed to extend to us, in order to second our efforts in evangelizing the different Indian tribes. We must then, of course, look elsewhere—make an appeal to the Bishops of the United States, who confided these Indians to our care. A thousand blessings upon you, dear Madame, for the timely aid you have procured; for means are necessary to defray the expenses of these long journeys, and to support thirty missionaries already engaged in the different Indian “Reductions.” To supply these wants is, however, but a preliminary step towards the com-



KAMIAKIN, CHIEF OF THE JACOMANS.



INDIANS OF MISSOURI WITH THEIR INTERPRETERS.

TO MY
ANGELIA

mening and continuing of other missions. It is not sufficient to sow the seed of the Divine word; to make it durable and bring forth fruit in due season it must be diligently cultivated. If after having commenced the conversion of the wandering tribes we are, from want of means, compelled to abandon them, is it not painful to think of the inevitable consequence, namely, that these poor nomadic people of America will return to their former barbarous condition? To place these Reductions upon a proper footing, we must check the wandering habits of the savages, we must convert the wandering lodges into permanent dwellings; but to effect this desirable end we require workmen and utensils to construct churches and erect houses; and still the question recurs, where are the means? We will do what we can—Providence, I trust, will not fail us.

The conversion of these savages is, of course, principally due to the mercy of God, and although the missionary employed in this charitable work may be regarded as the instrument of Divine mercy, yet in the eyes of Faith those who contribute towards it may also be considered as the spiritual fathers and mothers of the poor souls whom they evangelize, if not by their words at least by their prayers and the alms bestowed upon these poor pagans. In thus speaking of the happy results of our missions among the aborigines, I beg of you to accept my words as a mark of the deeply felt gratitude I owe you for the liberal manner in which you have for years contributed towards this success. It is indeed a consoling reflection that the sacrifices which we have made here on earth are not without fruit; but a recompense far greater, will, I trust, await us in the life to come.

Please to remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer, and to Miss Rosine, with my best wishes for a happy New Year, replenished with all the blessings of heaven, both spiritual and corporal.

Be kind enough to let me know, on whom and at what time I may draw for the money concerning which you had the goodness to write to me.

Rev. Father Van de Velde has been appointed Bishop of Chicago, Illinois, and will be consecrated in St. Louis on the 14th of February next.

I remain, with the most profound respect and esteem,
Madame,

Your very humble and obedient servant
in Christ, .

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P. S.—I send a copy of this letter, with only the initial of your name, to the Rev. Ch. White, Editor of the *Catholic Magazine*, of Baltimore, with permission to take some extracts out of it for his paper. Long ago I promised to send him some information concerning the Indians, and to make use of his paper for future publications of our missions.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Feb. 22, 1849.

MADAME:

I hasten to reply to your letter of the 22nd of January which was here awaiting my return from St. Charles. I was glad to know that you were pleased with my small pledge of gratitude for your many kindnesses. Prayer is the only thing I have to offer to my benefactors. Let me hope that God will not wait for the future life alone to reward your charity, but that He will also on earth remember your zeal for His eternal glory. I thank you again for your donation; I can make immediate use of it for the benefit of many souls. The amount will reach us at the most opportune time; as besides the two missions that you know about we are about to open a new one among the Winnebagos, who are in the diocese of Dubuque. Very likely I will soon go to see these Indians and select a place where we may establish a first settlement. There is great urgency for this latest mission as the Presbyterians are striving to get in ahead. I trust, Madame, that God will, as you say, come to our assistance in filling the place left vacant by the Rev. Father Van de Velde. We shall have need of a few good missionaries. The persecution in Europe will be the means of supplying them.

The consecration of the Rev. Father Van de Velde took place on the 11th of the present month, in our church of St. Francis Xavier. As the ceremony was one of the most imposing that has ever taken place in Missouri, you will, I fancy, be pleased to hear some description of it. I shall try to meet your desire. It had been rumored for two weeks that St. Francis Xavier's was to be the scene of a great event. Many of the Brothers were set to work to decorate the house of God. All was ready on the Saturday. The people were anxious for the following day. The day of joy mingled with tears finally came. The services were to begin at half past nine; but long before nine the broad aisles of our church were filled with people of all denominations. The ceremony began with a procession through the street which runs beside our buildings. One would need to be witness of this religious procession to appreciate its magnificent and edifying character. Our worthy Archbishop was at the head, preceded by his cross-bearer. Three Bishops in pontifical robes followed him. In the centre was he upon whom all eyes were turned, Rev. Father Van de Velde, already partly robed in his pontifical vestments. Then came priests in chasubles, and deacons, sub-deacons, those in minor orders, those tonsured and other seminarians in dalmatics or surplices. On either side was a long row of people mainly composed of pious Catholics. The whole scene was most inspiring, and a profound silence reigned. The streets and sidewalks were filled with a dense crowd of Protestants who were struck dumb with wonder at the grandeur and beauty of the ceremonies of our holy religion. The regularity of movement, the general intensity of feeling, the stately progress of the procession, the serious music, all spoke to the heart of everyone in terms that I would not attempt to describe. The crowd in the church was so great that the procession was compelled to enter in single file, and in that manner advanced to the steps of the sanctuary.

Mass and the consecration ceremonial began amidst the sound of musical instruments and of trained voices which serve so effectively to enhance the beauty of our religious

services. The officiating Archbishop is seated at one side of the sanctuary; on the opposite side is the venerable Bishop Spalding, who is to address this vast congregation. Two Bishops, Bishop Miles and Bishop Loras, attended the Archbishop during the consecration. The future Archbishop of Chicago was kneeling in the centre of the sanctuary. How solemn, decorous, and impressive was the spectacle! Everyone was in tears. Protestants as well as Catholics vied with each other in respectful attention as they beheld the grandeur of our religious ceremonies.

Bishop Spalding, a man of noble presence, addressed this mixed assemblage in tones of conviction and apostolic earnestness, and with a suavity that is the natural outcome of his well-known piety. His arguments were so convincing that a certain educated Protestant did not hesitate to declare on leaving the church that he had never before been so impressed with the truth of our religion. The same solemn dignity prevailed until the end, when at length Rev. Father Van de Velde was seen, robed in the pontifical vestments, giving his blessing to all the people without distinction. He was deeply moved and very many of the audience, who had known him for years, were sobbing during the pontifical blessing which he conferred after the Archbishop. At the close of the Mass the procession was again formed, with a Bishop added to their number, and they returned to the University.

Rev. Ch. White, editor of the Catholic Magazine, requested an account of my latest mission, so I have sent him my little diary.

As to the matter, Madame, to which you refer towards the close of your letter, I believe that you did all you could, and perhaps more than was required. Almighty God will reward you. As to the rest leave it to divine Providence and hope for the best. Kindly remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine and commend me to their prayers. Please also return thanks for me to the estimable lady whose prayers you requested for our missions. We too in turn shall pray for her good intentions.

I have the honor to be, Madame,

Yours respectfully,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Dec. 31, 1849.

MADAME :

I have just received your esteemed letter of the 13th inst. conveying kind wishes for myself and a message of your great charity for the poor Indians. I will thank you in their name for the contribution which you send them. Their benefactress shall have my prayers and many others that I shall induce the Indians to offer. My 1850 New Year's gift, which I trust you will accept for yourself and your dear family, will be this: that I shall continue to offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for your intention every Friday and Saturday in the year. I trust that I shall be able next spring to tell them in person of your benefactions and that they, on their part, will offer up many prayers to Heaven for you. It is likely that some one will visit them about that time; yet I apprehend that we shall not have Fathers enough to fill the wants of these missions. Some new missionaries of the Society of Jesus will be among the number. We also learn that a French priest is about to be appointed Vicar Apostolic for all the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains. I have become thoroughly convinced by my visit last year to the tribes of the Sioux, and my recent mission among the Osages and Pottowatomies, that a great amount of good can be done with God's blessing among the poor unfortunate Indians. The Pottowatomies number about 2,000 ardent Christians. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart have a fine school at the mission and it is quite a success. There is also a boys' school under the care of our Fathers; a suitable church has been built, and at the time of my visit materials were being got ready for the erection of two others. The Osages are not so devout as the Pottowatomies. This mission, though young,

promises an abundant harvest. The nuns of Loretto have been very successful with their school; it is well attended, as is also the boys' school. Two of our Fathers are employed constantly in teaching the adults, who seem to take a lively interest in the instruction. This wonderful interest displayed by the Indians, and their eagerness to learn the word of God may seem astonishing and almost incredible for people who are supposed to be the very personification of intellectual and moral wretchedness. This opinion has frequently been stated in my hearing. The matter is very easily explained; for we must remember that "the Spirit of the Lord breathes where He wills," and that His light and grace are more likely to penetrate the hearts of those who are wicked through ignorance than those of the vain and contentious. In any case cannot that same Holy Spirit which compelled the most rebellious to cry out with St. Paul, "Lord what would you that I do," soften the most hardened hearts, inflame the most indifferent, and bring peace, justice, and happiness where before there were but sin, disturbance, and chaos? Last September and October I had the good fortune to detect again the hand of God in the consoling results of the missions to the Pottowatomies and Osages. Only two days ago I received renewed and urgent invitations from the Blackfeet, the Crows, the Sioux, even from the Comanches who are anxiously awaiting the arrival of missionaries. Truly they offer a vast and promising field for the generous and devoted husbandman who shall come to cultivate it in the sweat of his brow and to prepare it to receive the heavenly dew. Could our Lord refuse His grace and help to him who gives up all the attractions of life to encounter every privation for the purpose of instructing the poor Indian in the salutary and encouraging truth of the Gospel? When I consider the expectations I have for the tribes of the West and Northwest of this country, I cannot help praising the goodness and mercy of my Redeemer and trembling at the thought of the terrible penalties that proceed from His Justice. While Europe, harassed by the persistent attacks of organized irreligion and of a waywardness of mind that cannot be bridled, seems to have no longer strength

and energy except for the shaking off of the Divine yoke which the Blood of Jesus Christ has made so light and so pleasing, the poor dweller of the desert raises his supplication to heaven, asking in all the sincerity of his heart, to be made acquainted with the true Faith, to be guided into those paths which lead to true happiness. Whilst in the very midst of Catholicity many priests of God have given way under the tyrannical oppression, the Providence of God, whose ways are inscrutable, is preparing, unnoticed, for them the vast plains of a distant continent. It is here that the divine Lord will select new followers whose plain and guileless hearts will give forth only words of gratitude and whose life will be patterned after that meek and humble existence of which only the house of Nazareth betokens the glory and perfection.

I am highly delighted to learn that your dear family is well, although exception has to be made for Miss Rosine. I shall certainly pray for her, and ask the prayers of others, to the end that Almighty God may relieve her and preserve her for her tender and loving mother. The New Year is approaching; I trust it may be for you one of happiness, and be followed by others equally happy. May God keep you for many years yet at the head of your dear family, and may your dear children long continue to share with you the happiness that reigns in the home of a family entirely devoted to the service of God. Kindly present my best regards to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and to Miss Rosine and commend me to their prayers.

As Mr. Pise lives in your neighborhood may I ask you, Madame, to present him my regards? I was much pleased to learn the news which you gave me concerning him; I trust our Lord will grant him every aid in his worthy undertaking.

Adieu; a thousand thanks for the gifts which you send to your godchildren.

I have the honor to be, Madame, your very humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

MME. SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, January 20, 1851.

MME. SOPHIE PARMENTIER,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

On returning from Louisiana, whither I was called on business of the mission, I found news of you here, together with a gift for the Indians. Beside your letter and its contents lay another letter, one from the Rev. Father Duerinck, Superior of St. Mary's mission among the Pottowatomies. This excellent Father asked me if I could get \$50.00 for him, to help him build a small log church for the Kansas Indians. So you see side by side with the request was found the reply. You will then, Madame, have a large share in that church which is going to be built for these neophytes. I specially requested the Rev. Father to accord you a large share in all their prayers, and in those which will be offered up in this house, raised in the midst of a new people who have been long begging for missionary priests.

In relation to the prayers and intentions for which you asked me, I would say that I have often forestalled your desires, and every day in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass I make a particular memento for your happiness and that of your dear family. It is a duty of gratitude which your benefactions to the Indians have placed upon me and which I take pleasure in remembering. I trust our Lord will pay you back a hundred-fold for all that you have done for the missions which justly consider you as one of their chief benefactresses. Rev. Father Miège who was appointed Vicar Apostolic to the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, has declined the appointment. This will delay still further the progress of religion among those poor people. I still retain the hope of returning among the Indians. The occupation which I at present have, and from which I expect soon to be relieved, is the only thing that prevents me from starting on my journey to my children of the plains. Meanwhile, I continue looking after their needs.

The schools of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and of the Loretto nuns among the Pottowatomies and Osages, as well as

our own schools, are getting along very well. But I have received bad news from the Pends d'Oreilles, to the west of the Rocky Mountains, where I had established a mission in 1844. I learn that all the head Indians of that tribe have been killed by certain hostile bands belonging to the Black-foot nation.

I will close by tendering you my sincere wishes for a happy and prosperous New Year, full of all the blessings of Heaven, for you, Madame, for Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and for Miss Rosine. I particularly commend myself to your kind prayers.

I am, Madame, with great respect your humble and devoted servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, May 17, 1851.

MADAME:

I am unwilling to leave St. Louis without sending you a few lines, and thus fulfilling a duty of gratitude which I owe you on so many accounts. For years past you have helped our Indian missions, spiritually with your prayers, and materially by your alms. I am glad to be able to tell you that your prayers, the prayers of your children and those which you have obtained elsewhere for the conversion of the Indians, and in which many persons have shared, have been heard by Our Lord. Probably you have already learned through the newspapers that Very Rev. Father Miège, S.J., has been consecrated at St. Louis as Vicar Apostolic for all the vast Indian territory to the east of the Rocky Mountains. A more worthy priest as to ability and virtue could not have been found, and I thank Almighty God in all the sincerity of my heart. A happier time, I expect, will now begin in that vast wilderness where the devil has reigned for centuries.

Mgr. Miège leaves to-morrow, accompanied by Rev. Father Ponziglione of Turin and two lay-brothers. He will go to St. Mary's mission among the Pottowatomies, where he will meet and confirm a pious multitude of about 2,000 Christians.

From there he will proceed to the mission of St. Francis Hieronymus, among the Osages, where there are about eight hundred converts. Most of this tribe are still pagan, but yet greatly devoted to our missionaries, and it is confidently expected that they will one day rally beneath the banner of our divine Lord. Mgr. Miège contemplates visiting other unconverted tribes, and in September next he will go to Fort Laramie, where there is to be a general reunion of the various Indian nations, under the auspices of the United States government agents. It is hoped that the conference will result in a cordial and lasting peace between the white people and the Indians. The Bishop's presence will doubtless contribute to its success.

With the same object in view, Rev. Father Baltus and I will leave St. Louis at the end of this month in the Fur company's steamer which ascends the Missouri beyond the mouth of the Yellowstone River, a distance of over two thousand miles. We shall visit all the tribes along the banks, to encourage them; to announce the coming arrival of their Black-robe chief-tain (the Bishop); to induce them to keep strictly in the right path in which they promised me to proceed when I visited them in 1848. We shall try, with the help of the Lord, to do everything possible for these poor unfortunate savages. Then we expect to meet the Bishop about the beginning of September at Fort Laramie, and participate in the grand council. If the weather permits I will continue my trip with Father Baltus towards Oregon, and I will cross the mountains next November.

You will see, then, Madame, from the little description which I have just hastily sketched, that the future of the Indians becomes more promising. The labor of the missionaries will be proportionately great. Trials and privations will doubtless accompany these extensive journeys, and it is for this reason that I would again ask you before my departure for the help of your pious prayers, for those of Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine. Commend us also to the kind remembrances of our good friend Mr. Pise, both for the success of the missionaries and the conversion of the Indians. You will thus add another claim to our gratitude, and on our part we shall never forget

you in our prayers. If we have a chance we shall try from time to time to let you know how we are getting along. My regards to all the family. I have the honor to be, Madame, with sincere respect,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

MME. SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, January 29, 1852.

MADAME:

On my return to St. Louis from Ohio and Kentucky where I spent the past months I find your esteemed letter of the 8th inst., and I am very much indebted to you for it. I trust, Madame, that Heaven will reward you and shower its graces and blessings upon you in return for your charitable remembrance of the poor Indians. Your gift will soon reach them. Be assured that they will not cease praying for your happiness and that of your dear children. I believe that I told you in my last letter of the saintly death of Rev. Father Hocken, after fifteen years of labor for the conversion of the Indian tribes, especially of the Pottowatomies. Now our missions have just suffered another great loss in the death of Rev. Father Bax, the apostle of the Osages, who fell a victim to his unselfish devotion in the midst of his work, after having spent many months day and night caring for the sick, instructing and baptizing them and soothing their last hours of life. Fifteen hundred Indians, writes Monsignor Miège, perished in a brief space of time, and among them more than six hundred little children who had had the glory of being born again in the holy waters of Baptism at the hands of their missionary Father. "Heaven appears to demand the little we accomplish in these sections. It summons to itself all our little children. May its holy will be done." These were the last words which Rev. Father Bax wrote to me a few days before he died.

Death has taken from us our most devoted and pious neophytes among the Pottowatomies, and it seems to single them out, writes the missionary, Father Gailard. Over four hundred of those I baptized in my mission among the Indians in 1851 have since died. The Lord consoles those whom he punishes and afflicts. To-day those poor unfortunate families, those almost forsaken tribes, roaming in the wilderness, have numberless little angels and pleaders in Heaven, who will never cease imploring aid for them at the throne of the Most High.

According to the news which I have lately received from the missions east and west of the Rocky Mountains there is reason for consolation, and the good work is constantly spreading among the tribes.

Allow me, Madame, again to commend them to your kind prayers, and to those of Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine; I will venture also to ask for myself a small place in your pious thoughts. Assuring you that I offer up a special prayer every day at the altar for you and your children, and that I commend to our Lord all your good resolutions and intentions, I have the honor to be, Madame,

Yours respectfully,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P. S.—Rev. Father Murphy desires to be remembered to Mme. Bayer, his old acquaintance at St. Paul.

MME. SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, May 8, 1852.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Pax Christi.

MADAME:

Your esteemed letter of April 23rd has come to hand with your kind gift for our dear Indians. I thank you

on their behalf. I immediately used it for the benefit of the mission of the Osages who are in great need and whose church has to be repaired and enlarged. I am very sorry to learn of the bodily suffering which you have endured for some time past; but I am glad to know that you are somewhat better and I trust that our Lord will soon restore you to good health for the comfort of your children and that of all the poor people you are constantly assisting. I wrote to the Superior of our missions on receiving your letter, in order to request for you their special prayers and holy Masses and likewise the prayers of all the good Indians who still merit the approbation of their Reverend Pastors. I shall likewise add my own humble and poor prayers, and every Friday and Saturday I shall offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar for you and your intentions. I have just written to the Very Rev. Mgr. Miège, Vicar Apostolic of Indian Territory, who is at present in Baltimore taking part in the general council of the Bishops, to ask him to call on you if he goes to New York. I am sure that you will be delighted to know him and that you will be greatly edified by all that he will relate to you about the Indians and the prosperous condition of their schools. I wish in a very special way to commend to your kind prayers the Indians I visited last summer. There are many difficulties in the way of establishing our holy religion in that section. The Indians there are steeped in vice and are in great wretchedness. Still they like the Fathers and listen to them with attention. I firmly believe that under the guidance of a few zealous missionaries they would become good and devoted Christians, full of love for the glory of God and the success of His holy law on earth. They have been for years most desirous of having missions established among them and this is the great point that I would recommend to your prayers. "The harvest is great, but the laborers are few, beg then the Lord of the harvest to send laborers for His harvest" (St. Matt., C. ix, V. 37-38). During my last visit and mission among the Indians to the east of the Rocky Mountains and at the outset of which Rev. Father Hocken died, victim of his charity, I found several tribes suffering from various diseases: cholera

and smallpox especially had been raging. My arrival was most timely, for I had the happiness of regenerating many with the holy waters of Baptism. The following is a summary: At the various forts and trading-posts (in the upper territory of the Missouri) and their vicinity, during the months of June and July, I baptized three hundred and ninety-two persons; during the following September I baptized two hundred and thirty-nine little children among the great tribe of the Ogallallas, who belong to the Sioux nation. The number of baptisms among the Rapa-hoes was three hundred and five; among the Cheyennes the number of children baptized was two hundred and fifty-three; two hundred and eighty young children were baptized among the Brulés, and Sioux Osages. In the little camp of a Dakota chief called Dirty Bear, the number of baptisms reached sixty-one. On the field of the great Indian council and various places on the La Platte I baptized fifty-six half-breeds. During the past winter a large number of these children, I am informed, died in consequence of the diseases which I have mentioned above; so that my visit beforehand was most providential. God grant that these tribes may soon be provided with spiritual assistance.

Kindly remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and to Miss Rosine. I have the honor to be, Madame,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P. S.—As you no doubt occasionally meet Rev. Dr. Pise, please also remember me to him.

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, BARDSTOWN, KY.,

May 16, 1855.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

MOST WORTHY MADAME:

On account of my absence from St. Louis your kind letter of the 1st inst. did not reach me here until the day before

yesterday. I came as companion to our Very Rev. Father Provincial who is to participate in the first Provincial Council at Cincinnati. I thank you very sincerely for your kind remembrance and for your great charity on behalf of our Indian missions. Heaven will take good note of it, Madame, and be assured that we on our part shall never cease to offer our poor prayers to the Lord for your happiness and the happiness of your dear family. I offer a special intention for you at the altar every day. This duty of gratitude is most pleasing to me, and I intend to keep it up faithfully as long as I live. It will not be necessary for me to solicit your prayers for my poor savages, who for so many years past have had the benefit of your charity. It is hard to look out over the immense wilderness which extends to the Rocky Mountains and beyond them without lamenting the condition of the many large tribes who are still wandering there almost in despair of ever securing spiritual assistance. The field is by no means without promise; it has been well explored by Rev. Fathers Hocken and Point, by Rev. Fathers Bellecourt and Ravaux; and I had the happiness of traveling through there myself on different occasions almost from end to end. All agree in declaring that they were received by the Indians everywhere with great consideration, and that the latter showed much interest in favor of our holy religion. Several thousand children and many adults have already been baptized, especially among the Black-feet, Crows, Sioux and the other tribes of Upper Missouri. Men and means have been wanting up to the present time for making permanent settlements. Every year the chiefs renew their requests, begging me to come back among them; and I, for my part, would be most happy to comply with their requests if my Superiors approved of it. Last year Mgr. Lamy, Bishop of Santa Fé, obtained permission from our Very Rev. Father General to take me with him among the Indians of his vast diocese, who number about ten thousand Catholics. My trip was unavoidably delayed owing to the great scarcity of priests in our Missouri province. If it be God's will, I am willing to spend the rest of my days among those poor and forsaken beings. We

must continue ardently to beg the Master of the Vineyard to send his laborers into this immense territory.

I learned by a letter which I received about two months ago from the Rocky Mountains, that the Indians at our various missions in Oregon continue to give great consolation to the missionary Fathers, by their earnestness and devotion in the holy practices of our religion. Father Joset writes me as follows: "I hope that the Sacrament of Confirmation which they have just received will impart greater firmness to their good resolutions. Upon the arrival of Bishop Blanchet of Nesqually, whose coming had been announced but a few hours before (too late consequently to assemble more than half the number of neophytes) he gave Confirmation to six hundred persons. He was delighted with our missions and with our neophytes." The conversions to the true faith are most gratifying considering the limited number of our Fathers. Rev. Father Joset tells me that in the single mission of St. Paul at Chaudière Falls, he had one hundred and sixty-three conversions in the course of the year. He tells me also that Lieutenant Mullan of the United States Army, by order of the Governor of Washington Territory, has been to see the Flatheads and all our other missions; that he was much pleased with the model behavior of all our Indians, and that he seems to be resolved to espouse their cause as far as he can before the government. Governor Stevens himself, in his latest report to the President of the United States, speaks of our Indians with the greatest kindness and begs the government to assist and encourage them. "They are," he adds, "the best Indians of the mountains and the plains; loyal, brave and tractable; all they need is encouragement to become good citizens. They are Christians, and we are informed that they practice Christianity."

A little statistical sketch of the condition of our holy religion at St. Louis will no doubt afford you pleasure. It is this: upon the arrival of our small colony of Belgian missionaries at St. Louis in 1823, there were between three and four thousand inhabitants with one poor church and two small schools. To-day its population exceeds one hundred thousand

souls, of whom certainly fifty thousand are Catholics. It possesses a fine cathedral and twelve other churches; a seminary for the secular clergy, a fine large hospital under the care of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, an excellent missionary house of the Lazarists, a college of our society having one hundred and fifty boarders, one hundred and twenty half boarders and day scholars, with from three to four hundred children in the free school attached to the college. There is a pay-school for boys of good family, under the direction of the Christian Brothers. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the Visitation Sisters and the Ursulines also have fine large establishments for young ladies. There are five orphan asylums for both sexes, accommodating more than five hundred children, and, in addition, a foundling asylum. There is a home for those who have been wayward and for young girls in peril. These houses are supported chiefly by charity and by the voluntary offerings of the faithful. There are eleven or twelve schools for boys and girls, in charge of religious orders of men and women. All the churches at St. Louis are well attended, yet they do not suffice for the number of the faithful. The devotion of the laity is equal to the zeal of their pastors; there is complete unity and accord between the secular and regular clergy under the fatherly administration of our most worthy Archbishop; all of which contributes much to the prosperity of our holy religion. Thus religion keeps step with the wonderful and rapid growth of our thriving city. I will give you some details as to what goes on to my personal knowledge in one particular church, that of St. Francis Xavier, which is attached to our college. During the past year there were more than fifty thousand communions. Every year the conversions to our religion number from sixty to eighty. The two sodalities of the Blessed Virgin have more than four hundred members belonging to all classes of society; lawyers, physicians, bankers, merchants, etc.; all approach the holy table in a body once a month and wear the miraculous medal of Our Lady. The arch-confraternity of the Blessed Virgin numbers between five and six thousand members. The arch-confraternity of the Sacred Heart numbers

more than two thousand active members. The Sunday School attached to the church is attended by about one thousand children.

Kindly remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine. The Very Rev. Father Provincial, Father Murphy, begs me to offer his respects to you and your dear family. Receive the assurance of the respectful consideration with which I am, dear Madame, your humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER COLLEGE, CINCINNATI,

Feb. 1, 1856.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MADAME:

I have just received your excellent letter of January 14th, and I thank you very sincerely for your great charity and kindness in our regard. I do not forget the promise I made you. I often offer the most Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for your welfare and that of your dear family. Above all now, at the beginning of the new year, I beg our Lord to bestow the abundance of His blessings upon you. It affords me much pleasure to learn that Miss Rosine's health has improved, and I trust that this improvement will be lasting. Kindly remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer. I can, I believe, announce to you that about the middle of the present month I shall have the honor and pleasure of calling to pay my respects to you in person. I take advantage of the opportunity presented to me by Very Rev. Father Murphy, our superior, who intends to visit his brethren in New York and Fordham. He asks me to remember him to all the family, especially Mrs. Bayer whom he knew very well. The Rev. Father Provincial is at present visiting our various houses in Kentucky and Ohio; I am ac-

companying him and that is why your letter took so long to reach me, and why my acknowledgment has been delayed.

Knowing the great interest which you have in the welfare of the Indians, I take the liberty of relating to you some details which I have lately received from our Rocky Mountain missions. Rev. Father Adrian Hocken writes me that in October last he came east of the Rocky Mountains together with the Christian tribes, the Flatheads, the Pends d'Oreilles and the Koetenays, at the formal request of Governor Stevens of Washington Territory, in order to take part in the conclusion of a treaty and of a great peace conference held by order of the Government. This Governor shows the greatest kindness towards the Catholic missionaries, and in all his official communications to the President of the United States he seems to take an active interest in endorsing their exertions for the material betterment of all the Indians confided to their care.

The Black-feet, Crows, Flatheads, Pends d'Oreilles, Koetenays and many chiefs of other tribes took part in this council. It is to be hoped that the Government will ratify the provisions of the new treaty. The Indians promise on their part to remain at peace with the whites; and the Government promises to assist them by appropriations for the instruction of their children, and by supplies of farming implements, in order to encourage them to give up their wandering life, and to settle down in some suitable place on their own land. Let us hope that the council will succeed in attaining its object. Rev. Father Hocken tells me that the Indians of all our missions to the west of the Rocky Mountains, especially the Flatheads, Pends d'Oreilles, the Cœurs d'Alenes, the Koetenays, the Arcs-a-plats, the people from the Chaudière Falls or Schuyelpies continue to afford much satisfaction to their missionaries by their orderly and Christian life. They are an object of admiration to all the government officers and to all the foreigners who visit them. He also tells me that during his visit to the Black-feet and to the Crows, he found them well disposed, and that they are continually clamoring for the Black-gowns to come and guide them, as they have done the Flatheads, in the way

of salvation. Rev. Father Hocken alone during the past year had the happiness of baptizing more than one hundred and fifty adult pagans and a large number of their children, who had come a long distance in order to receive his spiritual guidance. His brethren in the other missions also have had many conversions.

In another letter, dated Nov. 29th last, which I received from Rev. Father Congiato, superior of the California and Oregon missions, where the number of our Fathers and lay-brothers already exceeds forty, he speaks with gratification of a visit he made to the missions in the Rocky Mountains, and which lasted three months.

"Our Fathers," he says, "are accomplishing much good in that distant section. Rev. Father Hocken especially does the work of four ordinary men; he is the worthy brother of the apostle of the Pottowatomies, who ended his splendid career on the Missouri River in 1851. He has succeeded in inducing several tribes to come and live together under his spiritual care. Everything was progressing well at the missions when I left Oregon. To-day all is aflame in that Territory. All the Indians who dwelt on the banks of the Colombia River, from Walla Walla down to Dallas, have joined the Indians of northern California in order to wage war in common upon the Americans, and to commit serious depredations. One of the Oblate Fathers, Rev. Father Pandory, has been murdered. According to the latest news which I have received from St. Paul's mission, at Colville, our Indians are bitterly opposed to the excesses of the other Indians and display no disposition to join them."

Marty American newspapers have declared that the primary cause of this war in Oregon is to be found in the cruelties practiced by certain white men against a large number of peaceably-disposed and inoffensive Indians.

Commending myself to your kind prayers, Madame, I have the honor to be, with great respect, your humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

(Original in English.)

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, July 16, 1857.

MR. P. BAYER,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR SIR:

I received your kind favor of the 7th inst. I have communicated the contents of it to the Archbishop of St. Louis and to his Vicar General, who were very thankful for the information you had the great kindness to send. In this far-spread country where priests are everywhere so much needed, men like Bernard, though wolves in reality, under a show of zeal and with forged or real good papers, may easily be admitted, and creep hypocritically into the sheepfold of Christ, where sooner or later they create a great havoc by their scandalous and evil conduct. Bernard will find no room in these quarters; he is a marked man; I must congratulate you and the whole congregation at Brooklyn that you have got rid of him so easily and quietly without any struggle at all, thanks no doubt to the great and good St. Anthony, whose intercession you have all so well and fervently implored; according to promise I also have added my poor prayers. I sincerely hope your next pastor will be a man according to the heart of God, pious, zealous, and edifying in all his ways; whose priestly conduct will soon wash off the black spots made by his unhappy predecessor.

I must beg pardon of the family not to have written sooner. I have been rather unwell since my return, and was also kept very busy. My seven companions are all doing very well. I hope you will have read the letter of Rev. Father Hocken, from the Rocky Mountains, published in the *Freeman's Journal* on the 11th inst. I have received of late several invitations from the Black-feet Indians, the Crows, Assiboins and Sioux. They call earnestly for Black-gowns, and desire to be instructed. Last winter about four thousand of these Indians died of small-pox introduced among them by the whites. I recommend them to the good prayers of the family.

Please present my best respects to Mrs. Parmentier, to Mrs. Bayer and to Miss Rosine. In my Mass daily I never forget to pray for the whole family.

Most respectfully, dear Sir,

Your devoted servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P. S.—On the occasion of my last visit to the family in Brooklyn, the subject of botany was introduced, and I ventured to ask Mrs. Parmentier, Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine, on behalf of one or the other of our establishments in Belgium, for a few prepared plants, dried and mounted, as specimens, to be made up in duplicate from among the fine collection which I have inspected with so much interest and pleasure. Either Rev. Father Hersell, Superior of St. Ignatius Institute at Antwerp, or Rev. Father Bellynck, College of Our Lady of Peace at Namur, will be delighted and grateful to receive a few plants from the rich American soil.

Allow me to add still another little request, addressed to the ladies, and on behalf of certain members of my own family. They have often written to me and asked for seeds of American flowers. If a package could be made up conveniently, and without causing bother to the family, I shall be glad to accept it for my two nephews, Mr. Gustave Van Kerckhove-Key of Antwerp and for Mr. Charles De Smet-Blondell, Antwerp. The entire package might be forwarded to Mr. G. Key, shipping agent at Antwerp.

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, April 13, 1858.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

Your kind letter of the 16th and the case containing the elegant chasuble arrived almost together. I do not know,

Madame, how to express my thanks sufficiently for this fine gift which you have just added to the long list of kindnesses you have been showering upon the Missions for so many years. You are by good right on the list of great benefactresses of the Society of Jesus in America. Our Rule places upon us a very agreeable obligation. As a benefactress you share abundantly in all the prayers and good works which the Society practices. For my own part, Madame, please to accept my most sincere thanks. I shall never forget all the kindnesses that I have received from you, from Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and from Miss Rosine. I shall continue every day, at the altar, and in my poor prayers, to beg Heaven's blessings for you.

It is quite likely that I shall soon make another excursion, for two or three months, among the Indian tribes of the great wilderness. The Indians have often besought me to come and I feel an ardent desire to go, with the permission of my Superiors, and baptize the old men and the little Indian children, a large number of whom die every year without those blessings which are necessary for salvation. Then, too, while the different sects are making great exertions to introduce their false doctrines into these new countries, the Indians need to be encouraged to preserve and practice the good feelings which they have always avowed in favor of the true Black-gowns. I would ask your special prayers for the success of this mission.

I do not know if in my previous letters I have mentioned to you the famous Bernard. Here is what happened. After he left Brooklyn he wrote to the Vicar General of St. Louis to state that he was very anxious to come and labor in this part of the Vineyard of the Lord. His letter was dated at Cincinnati. Happening to be at the Archbishop's house, I communicated to him the information which Mr. Bayer had had the goodness to give me on that subject. It was just in time, for the Vicar General was about to reply to him; and his reply in consequence, was, that he would require Bernard, before coming, to furnish proper credentials, obtained from the ecclesiastical authorities at the place which he had left. I think that was the end of the matter. It is certain that Bernard

never appeared in this section. I have never heard of him since and do not know what has become of him.

With my best respects to you and your family,

I have the honor to be, Madame,

Yours truly,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, June 15, 1860.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

Your kind letter of the 9th inst. has been received. It afforded me much pleasure; it was edifying and consoling. I cashed the draft which you had the charity to include in your letter for the Rocky Mountain Missions. In the name of all our good Indians I offer you my heartfelt gratitude. I venture to say that they too will not fail to show their gratitude and to renew their prayers for your spiritual and temporal welfare and that of your dear and worthy family. I desire to thank you also at the same time for your kind remembrances in regard to myself. They were undoubtedly of great assistance to me during my long and perilous journeying by land and by sea in 1858 and 1859.

I am glad to learn that Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine are enjoying good health. Please present my best respects to them, as well as my gratitude for all their kind prayers and the interest which they take in the success of the missions. I will offer to the Lord every day at the altar, your requests and intentions, as well as those of your dear children, with my earnest prayer that the blessings of Heaven may always abound in your family.

Allow me to add a little good news from our missions. About two months ago, Rev. Father Damen, S.J., gave a mission in Detroit, Mich. He had the great happiness of baptizing on

the same day sixty-seven Protestants, and of receiving very many non-Catholics who presented themselves for instruction and preparation for this holy Sacrament, so as to enter into the fold of the Lord. In the territory of Kansas, Rev. Father Schoenmakers, S.J., lately gave Baptism to twenty Protestants converted to the Faith. On the 20th of May last at our church at St. Louis, out of the two hundred and fifty persons who received Confirmation from the hand of our worthy and venerable Archbishop, more than forty were converts from Protestantism. Thousands are returning to the holy practice of their religion in all the places where missions are given. In our church alone every week more than one thousand persons receive Holy Communion.

I have the honor to be, Madame,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

REGISTER OF THE CLERGY LABORING IN THE
ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK FROM EARLY
MISSIONARY TIMES TO 1885.

BY THE MOST REV. MICHAEL AUGUSTINE CORRIGAN, D.D.

VI.

BEAUDEVIN, REV. VICTOR, S.J.

Father Beaudevin was born in Paris, November 25, 1823. He was ordained on May 25, 1850. In 1851 he was assistant professor of mathematics at Fordham; in 1852-3 he was professor. In 1854 he left the Order and served for a time in the Newark diocese as a secular priest in the capacity of Chancellor and Secretary to the Bishop. From 1857 to 1861 he was pastor at St. John's, Paterson. In the last mentioned year, on November 8, he reentered the Society. In 1863-5, he was prefect of studies at St. Mary's, Montreal. In 1865-6 he was in parish work at Fordham. In 1867-8-9, he was stationed at St. Francis Xavier's. In 1870 he was pastor at St. Francis Xavier's, and from April 16, 1871, to 1874 pastor at St. Peter's, Jersey City. In 1875-6 he was procurator at Fordham. From that period to the time of his death, March 22, 1891, he was at St. Mary's College in Montreal.

PERNOT, REV. CLAUDIUS, S.J.

Father Pernot, who was born May 20, 1821, entered the Society of Jesus, Province of France, September 12, 1842, and was ordained by Bishop Hughes, June 14, 1849. He was professor of chemistry at Fordham during 1851-2, and from the time of the departure of Father Beaudevin in 1854, down to 1858, he was professor of mathematics as well. About that time he left the Society of Jesus, and was stationed from 1858 to 1861 at St. James', as assistant.

LEGARRA, REV. FAUSTUS, S.J.

Father Legarra, who was born on November 6, 1822, entered the Society of Jesus June 7, 1839. In 1850-52, he was a student of theology at Fordham. In 1864-5, he was professor of history in the Seminary of Salamanca. He went to South America about 1859 and became rector of the College of Quito, Columbia. Subsequently he was attached as a missionary to the college of Guayaquil.

KOHLER, REV. AUGUSTUS, S.J.

Father Kohler was born August 10, 1821, and entered the Society of Jesus at the Novitiate of Saint-Acheul, Province of France, July 19, 1842. In 1846 he came from Georgetown, D.C., to finish his theology at Fordham, and was ordained by Bishop Hughes, May 30, 1847. For nearly a quarter of a century Father Kohler labored as a missionary among the Indians on the shores of the Great Lakes. His death is recorded as having occurred October 15, 1871. He had taken passage on a Lake steamer that was lost with all on board.

KOBLER, REV. ANDREW, S.J.

Father Andrew Kobler was born on June 22, 1816 at Mühl-dorf, a small town in Bavaria, on the river Inn, not far from the celebrated shrine of Altötting. He was already a priest when, on November 4, 1844, he entered the Society of Jesus in the Province of Austria-Galicia.

Father Kobler was sent to the Novitiate at Graz, where he remained till 1846, when, for a more thorough study of scholastic philosophy, he went to Freinberg, near Linz, a castle which had been given to the Fathers by the Grand-Master of the Teutonic Knights, Archduke Maximilian d'Este. The following year he was destined to go to Innsbruck, in order to review and perfect his theological studies. But the year of universal upheaval, 1848, put a sudden end to his peaceful pursuit of scientific studies. The Novitiate of Graz was sacked by the revolutionists, Linz had to be abandoned, and in May the Em-

peror Ferdinand was forced by the revolution to sign the decree of banishment against the Jesuits. This, of course, brought about the evacuation of Innsbruck, and the dispersion of the Austrian Fathers. Father Kobler, with twelve other Fathers, among them the celebrated missionary, Francis Xavier Weninger, nine scholastics and six lay-brothers, embarked for the United States. Father Kobler and three other Fathers, two scholastics and six lay-brothers, remained in New York, which was then a dependency or mission of the Province of France (Paris). In 1850 he was stationed in Montreal, Canada, the next two years at Fordham, N.Y., where he taught mathematics, German, directed the students' sodality, presided at the cases of conscience and was one of the official consultors of the Rector. His last two years in America, 1853 and '54, were spent at the College of St. Francis Xavier, N.Y., where he taught mathematics and physics, directed the sodality and the cases of conscience, was confessor of the students and consultor of the Rector. After his return to Europe we find him the next two years, 1855 and '56, in the College of Pressburg in Hungary as professor of mathematics and history, moderator of the cases of conscience, academic preacher and consultor. In 1857 he was stationed in the Seminary of Linz as general prefect and professor of mathematics. In 1858 he began his career at the University of Innsbruck, where he was to remain till the end of 1871. His first office was that of professor of Church history. Among his colleagues were Father, now Cardinal Steinhilber, Fathers Jungmann, Hurter and Nilles, men who shed luster on the university by their virtue, learning and voluminous writings. During this period he filled the office of Rector Magnificus for a year, representing the theological faculty. From 1862-67 Father Kobler was Rector of the Jesuit College in the university, continuing at the same time to lecture on Church history. From 1867-71 he was prefect of studies and professor of Church history. In 1872 Father Grisar succeeded him as professor of Church history, and Father Kobler was sent to the College of Linz, where in 1872-73 he taught mathematics. From 1873-79 he held the office of Rector of the College of

Linz. In the latter year he returned to Innsbruck, where he remained till 1888 engaged chiefly in literary labors. When in 1888 the bishop of Klagenfurt entrusted his diocesan seminary to the Society of Jesus, Father Kobler was sent thither as first superior and spiritual director of the seminarians. He held this office till his death, which occurred on November 15, 1892. See the list of his works in Herder's *Conversationslexicon* and in Sommervogel (vol. IV and *Supplement*). Among his works is a German translation of Digby's *Mores Catholici*; also an abridged edition of the same; also *Martyrs and Confessors of the Society of Jesus in England from 1580-1681*. He published a new edition of that fascinating book of absorbing interest, the autobiography of Father Florian Baucke, S.J., a German missionary in the Paraguay Reductions. In this work the organization of the Reductions, the life of the Indians and of the missionaries are vividly described; also the expulsion and terrible sufferings of the persecuted missionaries.

MARÉCHAL, REV. FRANCIS XAVIER, S.J.

Father Maréchal was born at Auxerre, in France, January 10, 1815, and entered the Society of Jesus at St. Mary's, Kentucky, September 8, 1842. He studied theology at Fordham, 1846-49, and after that was treasurer until 1853. He was then appointed to teach Latin at St. Francis Xavier's, where he died July 27, 1854, having contracted Asiatic cholera whilst serving as chaplain on Blackwell's Island during the vacation.

DUVERNEY, REV. JOSEPH, S.J.

Father Duverney was born in Switzerland, December 30, 1806, and entered the Society of Jesus, October 8, 1825. Twenty-two years later, towards the close of 1847, he left Europe for America, followed a few months later by several of his companions of the Swiss Province, who came hither to seek shelter from the Revolutionists in Switzerland. With the exception of the last few years of his life, which were spent in retirement, and a short time employed in the Ministry at St.

Joseph's, Philadelphia, Father Duverney was employed in teaching theology and sacred literature from his ordination until his death. In 1851 and 1852, he was professor of dogmatic theology and Scripture at Fordham. Afterwards, he resumed teaching at Georgetown, and remained there till the opening of the Jesuit Scholasticate in 1860 at Boston. From Boston he was again transferred to Georgetown, and when the Jesuit House of Studies was established in 1869 at Woodstock, Md., he was among its first professors. But his constitution, enfeebled by age and labor, did not allow him to remain there long. He returned to Georgetown and afterwards went to the Novitiate at Frederick, where he spent his last years imparting literary instruction to the novices and edifying all by his saintly life. He died November 14, 1878.

FOETSCH, REV. GEORGE, S.J.

Father Foertsch was born at Sesslach, Germany, August 8, 1810, and in 1847 entered the Society at Fordham, where for four years he was a student of theology, and from 1852 to 1857 professor of German and Latin. For several years he labored in the diocese of Buffalo, and died at Fordham, December 22, 1869.

WEGER, REV. JAMES, S.J.

Father Weger, who was born on July 16, 1825, entered the Society, August 9, 1843. He came to America from the Austrian Province and made his philosophy and theology at Fordham, 1847-52. He was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, March 13, 1852, and was professor of German and Latin at St. Francis Xavier's, 1852-54.

SOLA, REV. RAYMUNDUS, S.J.

Father Sola was born June 8, 1817, and became a Jesuit, October 1, 1832. He was professor of Spanish in 1850 and of dogmatic theology in 1851 at the Fordham seminary. In the following year he returned to Europe and was succeeded by Father Maldonado, S.J.

CHARAUX, REV. CHARLES (OR THEOPHILE), S.J.

Father Charaux was born in France, April 19, 1830, entered the Society of Jesus at the novitiate in Issenheim, April 30, 1852, and was ordained a priest by Cardinal McCloskey, then Bishop of Albany, in 1856. He was a student of theology at Fordham, 1854-7, prefect of discipline 1857-9, then teacher of Latin, 1859-60, and again prefect, 1860-1. In the fall session of 1861 he became vice president of St. John's and prefect of studies, and in 1863-5 he taught at St. Francis Xavier's. The following year, 1865-6, was passed at Laon, in France. In 1866-8 he was prefect of studies and professor of rhetoric at the scholasticate in Quebec, 1868-70 at Fordham, and in 1871 again at St. Francis Xavier's. In 1873 he was made Superior of the New York and Canada Mission, and when New York was united to the Province of Maryland in 1879 he was appointed master of novices and instructor of the Tertiaries at Sault-au-Récollet, Canada. He died August 12, 1902.

SCHEMMEL, REV. SERAPHIN, S.J.

Father Schemmel, who was born in Rouffach, Alsace, January 24, 1817, was ordained priest in 1841, and entered the Society of Jesus, Province of France, August 21, 1850. He was in America from 1853. For twenty-five years he was stationed in the colleges at Fordham, Montreal, New York and Woodstock, and was one of the most distinguished teachers of philosophy, theology, Scripture and Hebrew in the country. He died at St. Francis Xavier's, July 9, 1878.

GRESSLIN, REV. CHARLES, S.J.

Father Gresslin was born at Hiesville, France, November 26, 1818, and entered the Society of Jesus in France, July 6, 1841. He taught philosophy at Brugelette, Belgium, and philosophy and theology in the seminary at Blois. He was also professor of philosophy, dogmatic theology, Scripture and canon law, at Fordham, 1854-60. He was for three years (1860-63) professor of dogma in the Jesuit seminary at Boston,

after which he returned to Fordham as professor of Sacred Scripture. He died August 15, 1864.

LOYZANCE, REV. JOSEPH MARIE RENÉ, S.J.

Father Loyzance, the fifth president of St. Francis Xavier's College, N.Y., was born in the parish of St. Ouen des Alleux, diocese of Rennes, Brittany, March 12, 1820. He received his classical education at the petit seminaire of Rennes and was ordained priest by Bishop Godfrey Saint-Marc, December 21, 1844. He entered the novitiate at Vannes, December 3, 1849, and after that was sent to Laval to review his theology. Eager for the greatest self-sacrifice in God's vineyard, he offered himself to his superiors for the foreign missions. He was sent to the Mission of Canada, arriving in New York in October, 1852. For a year he devoted his attention to the study of English, and during the ensuing eight years filled various offices at St. Francis Xavier's College.

In 1860, he was appointed rector of St. Joseph's Church, Troy, N.Y., and in 1863 became president of St. Francis Xavier's College. During his administration the college was highly prosperous, steadily increasing in numbers until four hundred and seventy-five students were in attendance. In 1863, he established the society of the College Alumni which still flourishes and numbers among its members some of the most prominent citizens of New York. He was the first president to found scholarships in the College. He retired from office at St. Francis Xavier's in 1870 to become treasurer of St. Mary's College, Montreal, Canada. His next charge was at St. Bartholomew's Church, Guelph, Canada. Later he was appointed minister at Fordham, N.Y., and in 1876 he was sent to Troy, where he remained twelve years. He was mainly instrumental in founding the shrine at Auriesville, N.Y., whither great numbers of Catholics resort in devout pilgrimage every year.

About 1880, Father Loyzance was named Superior of the house of retreats at Keyser Island, South Norwalk, Conn. In August 1891, he was sent to St. Peter's College, Jersey City. His last assignment was to the College of the Holy Cross, Wor-



REV. THEODORE THIRY, S.J.



cester, Mass., in May, 1895, where he died a holy death, February 23, 1897. Father Loyzance was a man of unfailing gentleness, sturdy manliness and rare prudence, qualities which well fitted him for the office of Superior he held for so many years.

THIRY, REV. THEODORE, S.J.

Father Thiry was born in Metz, Alsace, December 14, 1823. At an early age he was sent to St. Clement's, the college of the Jesuits in Metz, and on September 11, 1843, entered the novitiate at St. Acheul. His higher studies, begun at Brugelette in Belgium, were after his arrival in this country resumed at Fordham in 1847. On May 25, 1850, he was raised to the priesthood by Archbishop Hughes. He made the third year of probation in Canada in 1858-59, and in the following year was stationed at St. Mary's College, Montreal. With this exception, Father Thiry was in the class-room in one capacity or another at St. Francis Xavier's from 1851 to 1866. After that he gave nearly all his time and attention to parochial duties. Appointed over the schools of the parish, he visited them most faithfully, and under his supervision they soon took a foremost place among their class in the city. In 1867, he reorganized the Young Men's Sodality he had established in 1860, and out of its increasing numbers formed a sodality for all under eighteen years of age. These two with the Men's gave him three sodalities over which he continued to preside. Each had its own Saturday for confession, its Sunday for Holy Communion in a body, and its monthly meeting besides the other services common to all sodalities. Among the students in the college he was always a popular confessor; no wonder, for he took a special interest in his youthful penitents.

In 1866, Father Thiry accepted the directorship of the Association of the Holy Childhood, which had just been founded in America with its head centre in New York. This apostolic work would alone be sufficient for a man of ordinary mould, but not for Father Thiry. His next venture was the establishment in 1871 of the Literary Society of St. Francis Xavier's

Church, which still flourishes. The Society was made up of young men drawn from all parts of the city, who were desirous of cultivating literary taste and developing literary habits without any loss of Catholic faith and Catholic devotion. Much might be said of Father Thiry's labors as director of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, of his devotion to the sick and the poor, of his fatherly guidance of men and boys who streamed to his confessional, but all this is written in the Book of Life.

In the midst of these labors Father Thiry was stricken with paralysis in 1880, and though he recovered partially and for several years continued to perform some of his former duties, he at length succumbed and went to receive his reward on the thirteenth of March, 1889. Between three and four thousand men attended the funeral obsequies.

MADDEN, REV. JOHN.

Father Madden, who died June 6, 1861, had been assistant to Father Thomas Martin, O.P., at Rondout and Rosendale in 1851, and pastor at Rondout from 1852 till January, 1858. His immediate successors were Father McNeirny, January to May, 1858, and Rev. Daniel G. Durning, May 1858 to November 1859.

JUNG, REV. FREDERICK.

Father Jung was assistant to Very Rev. J. Raffener, V.G., in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Williamsburg, 1851. It was to this church apparently that applicants for admission to the diocese were sent for a period of probation.

McCLOSKEY, RIGHT REV. WILLIAM GEORGE.

Bishop McCloskey made his theological studies at Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, and was ordained priest by Archbishop Hughes, October 6, 1852. He was assistant to his brother, Rev. George McCloskey, at the Nativity, 1853, and in 1859 became a professor and the director of the seminary at Mount St. Mary's. In 1860 he became the first rector of the American College in Rome, and on May 24, 1868, was consecrated Bishop of Louisville.

DONNELLY, VERY REV. ARTHUR J.

Monsignor Donnelly was born at Athy, Kildare, Ireland, January 19, 1820. Engaging at first in business, he entered in 1846 the newly opened seminary at Fordham. Receiving ordination at the hands of Archbishop Hughes, in the old cathedral, October 6, 1852, he was assigned on the 28th of that month to Manhattanville. Having organized the parish and built the Church of the Annunciation, he was transferred in October, 1855, to Fordham, to be procurator of the seminary and to form a parish there. As pastor of St. Michael's, from 1857 to 1887, he erected the church, the schoolhouse, the residence and the convent. (See Shea, *Churches*, pp. 524-5.) When the church was consecrated on February 22, 1886, Father Donnelly published a remarkable statement showing that he had received over \$1,200,000 at St. Michael's, and accounting with vouchers for every penny. He became Vicar General at the death of Mgr. Quinn, and Domestic Prelate in 1888. During the months of January and February, 1887, he was at St. Stephen's. Father Donnelly died at St. Michael's Rectory, March 24, 1890.

DELAHUNTY, REV. CORNELIUS.

Father Delahunty, on completing his studies at Fordham, was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, March 13, 1852. He served as assistant at St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1852, and afterwards at St. James', Brooklyn. In 1854 he was chaplain at the Sacred Heart Academy, Manhattanville.

LEWIS, REV. JOHN.

Father Lewis, at one time a member of the Redemptorist Congregation, was pastor at Clifton, Staten Island, from 1852 to his death, Sunday, November 27, 1887. From 1853 to October, 1855, he was pastor at Rossville also, succeeding Rev. Mark Murphy, and being relieved by Father Cass. At the time of his death the church, rectory, schoolhouse, hall and cemetery, and the church at Stapleton, all due to his zeal, were entirely free of debt. This pious and learned priest, highly esteemed by

the residents on the island, was buried, at his own request, between the presbytery and the church.

McCARTY, REV. JOHN.

Father McCarty attended Calvary cemetery in 1852, succeeding Father John Conroy, and from October 20 to December 16 of the same year was at St. Stephen's.

McCANN, REV. ARTHUR.

Father McCann was assistant at St. Mary's Church, first under Rev. William Starrs, in 1852, and then under Father Farrell, in 1853.

BOKEL, REV. JOHN A., O.P.

Father Bokel, born in Germany, September 1, 1820, was ordained June 20, 1848.

TELLIER, FATHER REMIGIUS JOSEPH, S.J.

Father Tellier was born at Tavaux, in the department of Aisne, France, October 9, 1796, entering the Society of Jesus, October 11, 1818. In 1842, he was chosen with six companions, three priests and three lay-brothers, to found the new mission of Canada. Father Tellier was vice-president and prefect of studies at St. Francis Xavier's College, N.Y., from 1851 to 1854. In the latter year he was called to St. John's, Fordham, to assume the presidency of that institution, and in November, 1859, was named Superior General of the New York-Canada Mission.

The following notice is taken from the *New York Tablet*, January 20, 1866:

VERY REV. REMIGIUS TELLIER, S.J.

"The *Ordre*, a Journal of Montreal, thus announces the death of the Very Rev. Father Tellier, of the Society of Jesus, at St. Mary's College in that city.

"A great and laborious life has just been closed. The Rev. Father R. J. Tellier, superior of the houses of his Order in New York, Canada and among the Indians bordering the Lakes, died on the morning of the 7th of January. Born at Soissons (error, should be Tavaux), in France in 1796, he entered the Society to which he was divinely called, in 1818.

The first years of his religious life were employed in Savoy, where he displayed those rare qualities for government which marked his direction of affairs in this province. The present Bishop of Montreal, on his first visit to Rome, asked the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus in his diocese, from which it had been absent over forty years, and where, for two centuries before, it had labored with zeal and success. Father Tellier was one of the seven members who were sent over in accordance with this request. During the first two years after his arrival, from 1844 to 1846, Father Tellier was stationed at Laprairie, where his memory is still in benediction. Soon, however, his self-devotedness found a wider field for its exercise, when the typhus fever broke out among the Irish immigrants who were huddled together in sheds at St. Charles' Point. There night and day in the midst of the epidemic, he and his fellow priests administered to the wants of these poor plague-stricken souls. After this, Father Tellier aided in founding the present church of St. Patrick in this city. From here he was sent to Upper Canada, where he remained three years, and after that to the United States, where he filled successively the charges of prefect of studies of St. Francis Xavier's College and president of St. John's College, Fordham. After the departure of Father Hus in 1858, he was named Superior, in which post his zeal, judgment, prudence and large views rendered his management of affairs eminently successful. Whether in superintending houses of education, in providing for the spiritual wants of the poor savages, or furnishing ministers to the abandoned and the criminals in the prisons and islands around New York, and chaplains for the Army, Father Tellier was fertile in resources, and ever actuated by supernatural motives in all his appointments."

FARRELL, or O'FARRELL, REV. TIMOTHY.

Father Farrell, or O'Farrell, born in County Longford, Ireland, in 1818, came to America, taught Greek at Cincinnati, was ordained by Bishop Purcell, and was on the mission in the dioceses of Cincinnati, New York and Brooklyn. Having served as assistant at St. James', New York, at St. Paul's, Court St., Brooklyn, and at the Visitation, Brooklyn, he was appointed rector at Red Hook Point in 1855. There he remained until his death, February 16, 1876.

See *Catholic Review*, 1876, p. 132.

O'BEIRNE, REV. JAMES.

Father O'Beirne was assistant at the Transfiguration with Dr. Varela and Father McClellan in 1852.

DEVOST, REV. ANTHONY, S.P.M.

Father Devost was assistant to Father Lafont at the French Church in 1852-53.

HASSLINGER, VERY REV. MARTIN, C.SS.R.

Father Hasslinger, born November 11, 1808, was ordained July 23, 1832. From 1852 to September, 1854, he was stationed at the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer. Leaving the Redemptorists in 1854 and entering the diocese of Newark, he became Vicar General for the Germans, February 1855. He began to build St. Mary's Church, High St., Newark, and in April, 1857, left for Europe.

EVERETT, REV. WILLIAM.

Father Everett, born in Albany, August 14, 1814, was, before his conversion, a clergyman in the Protestant Episcopal Church. After his course of theological studies at Fordham, he was ordained priest January 29, 1853, by Archbishop Hughes. Having served as assistant at St. Peter's, 1853, St. Joseph's and St. Ann's, 1854-5, he was assigned, October, 1855, to the Nativity, with which church he was connected until his death, December 7, 1900. He was assistant to Father George McCloskey till 1869, and after that date rector. In January, 1891, Father Everett signified his willingness to resign in favor of his senior assistant, but the Diocesan Consultors advised against the acceptance of his resignation. With the consent of the Archbishop, Father Everett gave the active management of the parish to his senior assistant, retaining the position and title of rector.

PETSCH, REV. LEOPOLD, C.SS.R.

Leopold Petsch was born August 23, 1821, at Kornitz, Moravia, a province of the Austrian empire. The days of his

childhood and youth were passed in innocence and piety. His natural disposition always inclined him to seriousness, and made him averse to pleasure and pastimes. His love of retirement, next to God's grace, withdrew him from many occasions of sin, and prepared him for the life of sacrifice he was to lead. When he had completed his twenty-first year, he entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, and pronounced his religious vows on November 13, 1843, at Mantern, in Austria. After the completion of his theological studies, he was ordained priest on July 26, 1846.

As at that time a great field was opened in America for the Redemptorist Fathers, our young priest cheerfully embraced the opportunity of consecrating himself in the far West to the service of neglected souls. He placed himself, therefore, at the disposal of his Superiors, who accepted his offer. In the year 1848, in the company of another Father, he embarked, and landed in New York, on March 24.

His first station in America was Baltimore, where he was attached to the community of St. Alphonsus' Church. The labors of the Fathers in Baltimore at that time were very arduous, since they had charge of all German Catholics in the city and in the neighborhood. Besides St. Alphonsus' Church the Fathers had charge of St. James'. Father Petsch was assigned to the latter. In October, 1849, he was transferred to Buffalo, where he labored till April, 1851, from which time until May, 1852, he was at work in Rochester.

During the following seven years, New York was the field of his labors. For five years of this period he shared the labors of Father Helmprecht, his rector, with whom he vied in zeal for souls. Four years Father Petsch labored among the faithful of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer, and for the next three years he had charge of St. Alphonsus' Church, in the same city.

Here he displayed prodigious zeal. Immigrants found in him a guide and an adviser in the land of their adoption, and were preserved from many dangers besetting their faith. Men who had been strangers to religion for well nigh a life-time,

adventurers and people of every description flocked to the little church, and after listening to the earnest exhortations of Father Petsch, resolved to be reconciled to God in the Sacrament of Penance. He exercised a marvelous influence over the hearts of all, even the most obdurate sinners, and by his untiring efforts brought many to the mercy-seat of God.

In April, 1859, he was removed to Baltimore, where, two years later, he was appointed rector of St. Alphonsus' Church. From this time he filled the office of Superior until 1877. In 1862, he became rector of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer in New York. As rector he was most assiduous in advancing the interest of holy religion, particularly in watching over the little ones attending the parochial schools. The Civil War increased his cares and solicitude. Yet, a more severe ordeal was awaiting the tender-hearted Superior.

In 1865, he was nominated rector of Annapolis, where at that time the house of studies was. On the ninth of July, 1866, a most heart-rending accident occurred which plunged not only the community, but the whole province and many friends of the Redemptorist Fathers into the deepest grief. Four Fathers and three students had taken an outing on a boat, when a sudden storm arose which caused the boat to capsize. Three Fathers and two students were drowned. Although Father Petsch bore the disaster with holy resignation, yet his constitution was unequal to the terrible shock. His health became seriously impaired, and it was necessary to remove him from Annapolis.

He was, therefore, sent to Pittsburg, as rector of St. Philomena's Church, which office he held for five years. In 1871 he became rector of St. Alphonsus' Church in Baltimore. While stationed there he was called one day to administer the last Sacraments to a sick man. It was an intensely hot day, and on his way home he was overcome by the heat. In consequence of this sunstroke, he was brought to the verge of the grave. For days his life was in the balance. Although he recovered, his health was never entirely restored. Still he continued his labors, particularly in the confessional.

In 1873, Rev. William H. Gross, the Superior of the Redemptorist Mission Church in Boston, was consecrated Bishop of Savannah, Georgia, and Father Petsch became his successor in Boston. It was thought that a more northern climate would prove beneficial to his health. The numerous penitents who, in Boston, chose him for their spiritual guide, bear witness to the apostolic zeal with which he dispensed this holy Sacrament. His whole personality inspired confidence, and gained for him the reputation of a man of God. The confessional was, therefore, his chief field of action.

But another material task was to be undertaken by our Father. The small, temporary frame-church, which had been erected in 1871, was to be replaced by a magnificent temple, worthy of the Most High and the Heavenly Queen, whose name it was to bear. On September 21, 1874, the first sod was turned in the excavation for the foundation of the new church. The cornerstone was solemnly blessed by Archbishop Williams, on May 28, 1876. During the following night a fire broke out, which consumed the greater part of the rectory, and it was only owing to the united efforts of the firemen and faithful, who knelt in the garden praying, when they could not help otherwise, that the little church was saved. Thus, good Father Petsch's faith, confidence and patience was again severely tried. The new disaster impaired his health still more. For this reason, to his great joy and consolation, he was permitted to step out of office in 1877, when Rev. Father William Loewekamp was appointed to succeed him. Father Petsch remained attached to the Boston community, and continued his work of zeal and usefulness, till almost the very day of his death, which occurred on June 20, 1882.

For a long time the Father had been in poor health, and was urged by his friends to take some rest; but he would not run the risk of losing any of the merits of patient suffering. The end came, however, much sooner than was anticipated. On the 19th of June, 1882, he was already reduced to such a state of weakness, that the physician declared he would not survive forty-eight hours. The last Sacraments were administered to

him by the rector, Rev. Joseph Henning. He spoke very little after this, and expressed but one wish, "to possess God." His mind was already fixed on Heaven. On June 20, he breathed his last after a protracted struggle.

Father Petsch was one of those humble souls who, as much as possible, hide themselves from men, in order to live and labor only in God and for God. His whole life was a life according to faith. He thought, judged and acted only according to this divine rule. As a religious, Father Petsch was zealously mindful of the Rules of his Order, thus showing himself a good religious and a true son of St. Alphonsus. In his dealings with his religious brethren he showed the greatest charity. Being himself a model of every religious virtue, it was easy for him, as Superior, to lead his subjects to follow his example. Towards strangers he was not less amiable, yet he disliked useless loss of time. For this reason he was, now and then, somewhat short in his conversation with those who visited him. Yet on account of his fatherly manner, he knew how to conciliate the confidence of all. His Christian charity never permitted him to listen to anything derogatory to the good name of his neighbor. His humility was such that it was noticed by all. Never was he heard to speak of himself, nor defend his own opinion with obstinacy. Never was he provoked when in any way hurt or offended. He was tranquil and resigned in time of suffering, and though wasted by corporal sufferings he continued to labor till the last moment.

His exterior was always grave and recollected, so that he appeared always to walk in the presence of God. He was in the habit of constantly repeating pious ejaculations, so much so, that these would, at times, escape his lips unconsciously and become audible. Whenever his services were required he could be found either in his cell or in the chapel.

JOSLIN, REV. TITUS.

Father Joslin, who was born in Schenectady, where his father, Dr. Joslin, was a professor in Union College, became a

convert, studied at Fordham, and was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, March 13, 1852. He was assistant at St. Ann's, March to May, 1852, at St. Stephen's, 1852-3, at St. Michael's, at St. Columba's with Father McAleer, 1853, 1854, 1855-6, 1857-8, and at St. John the Evangelist's, 1859. He finally entered the Newark Diocese and became pastor of the Immaculate Conception Church, Montclair, 1865. Becoming paralyzed, he was succeeded in 1874 by Rev. A. M. Steets. He passed away peacefully, October 15, 1882, attended by his old friend, Father Duranquet. Father Joslin was pious but extremely eccentric.

McGOVERN, REV. PATRICK.

Baptized at the old cathedral, Father McGovern studied at the cathedral school, and at Mr. McElroy's Academy, New York City, and was graduated A.B. at Fordham, 1848. Entering the seminary at Fordham, September, 1848, he was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, January 29, 1853. He was assistant at St. James', and then, after December, 1853, at Madison in the diocese of Newark. On account of ill-health he withdrew January 29, 1855. Resuming his labors, he was in turn stationed at Morristown, at Bergen Point, where he paid off the entire debt, and from July, 1876, at Keyport. In 1877 he became rector of the Church of the Holy Name of Mary, Croton-on-Hudson, in the New York diocese. From 1894 to his death, March 20, 1902, he was rector emeritus. He was buried from St. Patrick's Cathedral.

O'NEILL, REV. PATRICK.

Father O'Neill was born in County Cavan, Ireland, 1822, studied at Maynooth for six years, and was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, October 6, 1852. At the request of Bishop Loughlin the young priest was transferred from a curacy at the Church of the Nativity to the pastorate of St. Joseph's Church in the new diocese of Brooklyn, where he remained till his death, September 18, 1867. Father O'Neill was one of the most faithful priests in the diocese.

BOHAN, REV. ANDREW.

Father Bohan was born in the parish of Mohlin, County Leitrim, in 1822, educated at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, and ordained by Archbishop Hughes, October 6, 1852. While pastor at Flatbush, L.I., he laid out and beautified the cemetery. During his nine years' pastorate at the Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Williamsburg, beginning in 1855, he reduced the debt, organized schools, and accomplished many other good works. He died of dropsy, November 28, 1864, and was buried in Flatbush cemetery, on the feast of his patron saint.

FARRELLY, REV. FELIX H.

Father Farrelly was born December 28, 1832, in Cavan, or Longford, and trained at Castleknock, at the Cavan seminary, and at Maynooth. Soon after his ordination by Archbishop Cullen, at All Hallows', Dublin, July 3, 1854, he came to America and was assistant at the Nativity from October 1, 1854, to 1856. After serving for a few years as pastor at the Annunciation, Manhattanville, he became pastor at Rondout, November 12, 1859. He introduced the Sisters of Charity there, established St. Mary's Academy, and purchased the new cemetery on the Flatbush Road. From June 1, 1865, to July, 1880, he filled, with great credit and with great advantage to souls, the pastoral charge of St. James. He built very fine schools there and left the parish in a prosperous condition. (See Shea, *Churches*, p. 399.) In 1880 he succeeded Father Farrell at St. Joseph's. Soon afterwards his health began to fail visibly, and during the remainder of his life he suffered most acutely. He died February 8, 1882.

JOYCE, REV. THOMAS.

Father Joyce, born in Ireland, January, 1811, was stationed at Sag Harbor, 1852, at Rondout as assistant, from May, 1852, to November, 1853, and at Yonkers, as assistant, from 1853. He was second resident pastor and chaplain at Calvary

cemetery, succeeding Rev. Patrick Hennessy, who died January 26, 1861. In 1879-80, on account of the malarial fever, he retired to St. Francis' Hospital, Fifth street, and died there, September 13, 1890.

Father Joyce is authority for the statement that when he came to New York, in 1838, there were only forty-two priests in the States of New York and New Jersey.

METZLER, REV. CASPAR.

Father Metzler, after his ordination by Archbishop Hughes, October 6, 1852, was assistant to Vicar General Raffeiner, at Williamsburg. He was pastor at Melrose, 1853-64, and for the following nine years in Poughkeepsie. He was very much beloved by the German population. He died December 3, 1873.

See notice of his funeral in *Freeman's Journal*, December 27, 1873.

MCDERMOTT, REV. BERNARD.

Father McDermott was non-resident chaplain of Ward's Island, 1852, assistant at St. Peter's the same year, assistant at St. Mary's, Rondout, from December, 1853, to August, 1854, and assistant at St. Bridget's, 1854.

CALLAN, REV. JAMES.

Father Callan, brother of Rev. John Callan, was born in 1826 at Newry, Ireland, and educated at Maynooth. He was assistant to Rev. J. Kelly, Jersey City, 1852, and pastor at South Amboy from October 1853. While pastor at St. James', Newark, from October, 1854, to 1860, he built the original brick church, afterwards used as a schoolhouse. In 1860 he built St. Mary's Church at Bergen Point. In August, 1861, he was transferred to St. John's, Paterson, and in October, 1863, to Lambertville. In February, 1864, he went to California and became pastor at San Leandro. He lost his life in a steamboat explosion while returning from retreat, August 24,

1864. He inhaled the scalding steam, yet heroically gave the last Sacraments to others, until the end.

He was an eloquent preacher, and a very zealous worker. His warm temper sometimes created trouble for his people.

MOONEY, REV. THOMAS J.

Father Mooney, born of Irish parents in Manchester, England, 1824, came to America in 1840, and studied at Fordham seminary. After his ordination by Archbishop Hughes, January 28, 1853, he entered upon his life long association with St. Bridget's parish, at first, for a brief period, as assistant, and then as pastor. He established and successfully maintained large parish schools.

During the Civil War Father Mooney was chaplain of the 69th Regiment and of the Irish Brigade.

On September 11, 1877, while he was driving at night on Fifth Avenue, his buggy was overturned by a heap of stones left without a light, and two days later he died.

See *Catholic Review*, September, 1877, p. 180.

EGAN, VERY REV. PATRICK.

Dean Egan made his theological studies at Fordham and was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, January 29, 1853. His first appointment was as assistant at St. Patrick's, Newark, and on the creation of the diocese of Newark he returned to New York. He was at St. Ann's in 1853, at St. Mary's in 1855, and pastor at Verplanck's Point and Peekskill, 1856-7. From June 26, 1857, to August 19, 1864, he was at Holy Cross with Father P. McCarthy. From 1864 to 1890 he was pastor at St. Teresa's, Tarrytown. At the Fifth Diocesan Synod, November 17 and 18, 1886, Father Egan was made rural dean for the counties of Westchester, Putnam, and Dutchess.

He departed this life at St. Teresa's rectory, Tarrytown, October 17, 1890.

QUINN, REV. JOHN.

Father Quinn, born in Ireland in 1808, and educated in Montreal and at Fordham, was ordained by Bishop Hughes, September 23, 1848. While assistant to Father James McDonough at St. James', Brooklyn, 1848-52, he established the missions of Fort Hamilton and Flatbush, and was chaplain at the Fever Hospital.

He was pastor at Piermont from 1852 to his death, December 22, 1875, and was succeeded by Father Wm. L. Penny, assistant at St. James'. The mission at Piermont originally included a district about fifty miles square. All the churches in Rockland county at the time of Father Quinn's death, at Piermont, Nyack, Greenwood, Spring Valley, and elsewhere, had been erected by him. He was a good, simple-minded, charitable priest, and was very much beloved by his people.

TOMEI, REV. MICHAEL, S.J.

Father Tomei died at St. Joseph's seminary, Fordham, N.Y., December 10, 1850. Born in Tivoli, Italy, September 17, 1792, he became a member of the Roman Province, November 12, 1814, the year of the restoration of the Society, and made his solemn profession, February 2, 1829. In 1825 he was appointed a professor in the Roman College at the time it was confided to the Jesuit Fathers. From that period he always occupied a distinguished post in some establishment of education until 1849, when he sought a refuge in the United States from the terrors of the Mazzinian anarchy. At the time of his death he was prefect of higher studies and professor of moral theology in the Fordham seminary.

HENNESSY, REV. PATRICK.

Father Hennessy, assistant at the Cathedral, 1853-4, attended Calvary cemetery, 1853-6, and labored there, as the first resident chaplain, from October, 1858, till his death, January 26, 1861.

MURRAY, REV. JOHN.

Father Murray was ordained by Bishop Loughlin for Archbishop Hughes, December 23, 1854.

DURNING, REV. DANIEL.

Father Durning, after assisting at the Transfiguration, 1853, with Father McClellan, at the Cathedral, 1854, and at St. Peter's, 1855-58, became rector at St. Mary's, Rondout, May, 1858, and remained there till November, 1859.

FARRELL, OR FARRELLY, REV. BERNARD.

Father Farrell, or Farrelly, born in 1829, made his studies at Fordham seminary, and was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, January 29, 1853. After assisting at the Cathedral, 1853 and 1854, he was commissioned, June 15, 1855, to build the Church of the Immaculate Conception, East 14th Street. He assembled the Catholics of the district in a temporary church, August 15, and began to raise funds; he was soon obliged, on account of failing health, to resign the undertaking, and died at Manhattanville, in the following year on July 18. The work he began was successfully completed by Rev. John Ryan.

SHEEHAN, VERY REV. DENIS.

The Very Rev. Canon Sheehan was born at Queenstown, Ireland, 1809 and was for many years connected with the Irish College, Paris, with the title of Canon of Limoges. From November 1853 until his death, October 27, 1875, he was pastor of Channingsville (Sylvan Lake), now Wappinger's Falls, and a large outlying district. He had a very hard mission, and would often travel twenty-five miles on foot, laden with the requisites for the celebration of Mass. For a mention of this pious and learned priest, see *Freeman's Journal*, November, 13, 1875.



REV. JOSEPH HELMPRAECHT, C.S.S.R.



REV. JOSEPH RENÉ LOYZANCE, S.J.



MONAHAN, REV. MICHAEL.

Father Monahan was pastor at Peekskill and Verplanck's Point from 1853 to 1856, when he was succeeded by Rev. Patrick Egan.

MCNEIRNY, RT. REV. FRANCIS, D.D.

Bishop McNeirny was born in New York City and baptized at St. Patrick's, Mott St. On completing his theological studies in Canada, he was ordained priest by Archbishop Hughes, August 17, 1854. He was chaplain to the Archbishop, 1854-56, chancellor, 1857, pastor at Rondout and Rosendale for a short time in 1858, and secretary to the Archbishop for several years. On December 22, 1871, he was appointed, and on April 21, 1872, consecrated Bishop of Rhesiná, *in partibus infidelium*, and coadjutor to the Bishop of Albany. He became Administrator Apostolic, 1874, and on October 16, 1877, by right of succession, Bishop of Albany. He died January 2, 1894.

VAN RYCKEVORSEL, REV. JOHN, C.S.S.R.

Father van Ryckevorsel was born March 17, 1818, in Rotterdam, Holland, of very respectable Catholic parents. He entered the congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer early in 1842, and after his year's novitiate at Saint Trond in Belgium, he pronounced his religious vows, March 25, 1843. At Wittem in Holland he pursued his course of philosophy and theology, and was ordained priest, June 25, 1848. For about three years he labored in his native country. In 1851, when Father Bernard Hafkenscheid, the first Provincial of the American houses of the congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, was in quest of additional laborers for the American mission, Father van Ryckevorsel offered his services, which were accepted. He arrived in New York on November 11, 1851. Until 1853 he was stationed at St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, but in January of said year he was transferred to New York, where he labored until September, 1855, when he was recalled to Europe. For

some time he was attached to the mission in Ireland, but his last years were spent in the province of Holland, where he died, on July 10, 1890, at Roermond.

HELMPRÆCHT, REV. JOSEPH, C.SS.R.

In the American annals of the Redemptorists the name of Father Helmprecht will occupy a conspicuous place. He was born, January 14, 1820, at Niederwinkling, a small Bavarian town, of pious and well-to-do parents. Under the parental roof he learned the first lessons of that genuine piety and indomitable pursuit of solid virtue which characterized him throughout his life. At an early age he was sent to the school of the Benedictine Fathers at Metten, where he received his classical education. The late Abbot Boniface Wimmer, the founder of St. Vincent's Abbey in Pennsylvania, was one of his tutors. Having completed his classical course he betook himself to the University of Munich, where at that time a number of celebrities delivered their lectures in the different branches of theology and philosophy. It was at this period of his life that young Helmprecht received the divine call to the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. He was received and entered the novitiate at Altötting in 1843, with the intention of devoting himself to the American mission. He arrived in America in the month of June, 1843, in the company of several Fathers.

At that time there was not yet a regular house of the novitiate in this country. Hence the house attached to the old St. James' Church, Baltimore, became the first house where the novices were to be trained for their arduous vocation. The novice-master was Father Ernest Glaunach, a religious of sound, but somewhat rigorous principles. In the novitiate Father Helmprecht laid the foundation of that saintly life which distinguished him ever afterwards. On the 8th of December 1844, he pronounced his religious vows, and after a short revision of his theological studies was ordained priest, December 21, 1845.

The first three years of Father Helmprecht's priestly life

were spent in Baltimore, where his zeal and regularity soon won the admiration, love and confidence both of his superiors and of the faithful. It is, therefore, not surprising that, although but twenty-eight years of age, he was, in July 1848, appointed Superior of St. Mary's Church and house in Buffalo. Great things were here accomplished by the young, energetic and pious Superior. The cornerstone of a new church had been laid on April 24, 1848, by Bishop Timon; it was under way, and was happily completed in 1850. On July 28 of that year the solemn consecration took place by the same Bishop. A grand mission was opened on that very day. The erection of a school was the next object to be looked after. Father Helmprecht's disinterested zeal prevailed on the faithful to make new sacrifices, and he succeeded in building a spacious school, which was completed in 1851. The next undertaking was an orphanage in which he was equally successful.

Father Helmprecht, though a young Superior, displayed such prudential zeal that the higher superiors rightly concluded that he was fit for more responsible offices in the Order. When, therefore, in 1854, new superiors were appointed, he was transferred to New York, as rector of the important Church of the Most Holy Redeemer. He held this office for six years, and again demonstrated his apostolic zeal and met with marvelous success. At this period two German churches in New York, that of the Most Holy Redeemer, and that of St. Alphonsus, were served by the Redemptorist Fathers, and consequently, under the jurisdiction of Father Helmprecht. He, as rector, reserved to himself the most laborious duties of the holy ministry. One of the greatest surviving monuments of Father Helmprecht's practical undertakings is the German orphan-asylum in 89th street, the section known as Yorktown.

In 1860 he was transferred to Philadelphia, remaining only a few months, when, in 1861, the famous St. Philomena's Church in Pittsburg became the scene of his labors, not in the quality of rector, but as assistant. Free from the worries and cares of a superior, our humble Father felt very happy, but this comparative period of rest was to be of brief duration.

Twenty young Redemptorists had been raised to the priesthood in March 1863, and were to be prepared for their apostolic career by what is called a second novitiate. A Father was sought; one of great experience and otherwise qualified to initiate young men in the various duties of the active life without impairing the spirit of the true religious. The choice fell on Father Helmpræcht as the man eminently fitted for so important a position. While acting as prefect of the second novitiate he was obliged to take charge of the community as rector, the former rector, Rev. Father Seelos, having been assigned to missionary work.

In 1865, the Superior General summoned the Provincial Rev. Father DeDycker, to Rome, assigning Father Helmpræcht as his companion. The latter returned to the United States in July of the same year as Provincial of the American Province. For twelve years he had to bear the burden of that responsible charge. As Provincial Father Helmpræcht displayed the same indefatigable zeal which had distinguished him as local superior, with this difference, that he now had a wider field for his tireless activity.

As the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer was primarily founded for the purpose of giving missions and similar spiritual exercises, many Fathers, witnessing the great results of the missions, believed that the time had come to establish some houses the Fathers of which should devote themselves exclusively to missions and retreats.

Father Helmpræcht, the new Provincial, seconded these views, and with the cordial approbation of the Superior General endeavored to carry out this long cherished project. The first so-called English mission-house was opened in New York. A dwelling was purchased near St. Alphonsus' Church in Thompson street, and a separate community established, on November 9, 1866. While continuing the parochial duties for the German faithful, for whom the church had been originally built, it now became in addition a mission-church for English-speaking Catholics. Thus the labors in that church were lite-

rally doubled, since regular services had to be held for both nationalities.

A similar foundation was made in the same year, 1866, in St. Louis, Mo. Many very successful missions had been given in the course of several years in the archdiocese of St. Louis and other western dioceses. The good results of these labors induced Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick to propose the establishment of a house of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer in his episcopal city. The Fathers were to have a mission-church exempt from parochial duties. Until they could build their own church somewhere on the outskirts of the city, the Archbishop allowed them the use of his Cathedral, where they began their labors on September 30, 1866.

In 1871 Father Helmpræcht had the consolation of founding a mission-house in Boston, which he placed under the patronage of Our Lady of Perpetual Help. The work of the missions was carried on with great vigor, and although only a limited number of Fathers could be spared for the work they nevertheless averaged every year from fifty to seventy missions.

Besides these three mission-houses three or rather four other houses were added to the Province under Father Helmpræcht's administration: St. James', in Baltimore, 1867; Ilchester, Md., 1868; Quebec, Can., 1875, and St. Boniface's, Philadelphia, 1876.

The old church of St. James', in Baltimore, which in 1841 had been transferred by Archbishop Eccleston to the Redemptorist Fathers for the use of the German Catholics, having become too small for that growing congregation, had to make room for a more spacious edifice. On that occasion a separate community of Fathers was assigned to this church, which until then had been served from St. Alphonsus'.

The following year Father Helmpræcht carried out the long-cherished desire of having the house of studies, located at Cumberland, Md., nearer to his residence at Baltimore, and purchased a delightful site at Ilchester, Md., thirteen miles from Baltimore, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

In 1874 another remarkable foundation was made in Que-

bec, Canada, where the Fathers took charge of St. Patrick's Church. As early as 1857 this mission had been offered by the Archbishop, but circumstances prevented the acceptance at that time.

In 1876, during Father Helmpræcht's term of office, the Redemptorist Fathers were requested by Archbishop J. Wood to take charge of St. Boniface's congregation in Philadelphia.

From Father Helmpræcht as Provincial the Fathers of New Orleans obtained permission to buy a country-seat at Chat-
awa, Miss., where for some years a community of Fathers resided with a number of young men, either novices or aspirants. As the reward of his prudent administration Father Helmpræcht had the consolation of seeing his congregation flourish and expand more and more from year to year.

Particular mention must be made of another work of vital importance to the Order, which the energetic Superior called into existence, the Preparatory College, or Juvenate. For many years boys and young men of the parishes of the Redemptorist Fathers received elementary instruction in the classics from some of the Fathers, to fit them for admission into the novitiate. In 1867, seeing that young men from other places manifested the desire of entering the Congregation, Father Provincial established the so-called St. Alphonsus' Academy in Baltimore. This boarding school gradually developed into a regular college, being first transferred to St. James', Baltimore, in 1869. then, in 1872, to Ilchester, where a commodious building had been erected by Father Helmpræcht for the purpose. The majority of the present members of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer of the Baltimore Province, received their education at this institution which, in 1882, was transferred to North East, Pa.

In 1875 Father Helmpræcht obtained in Rome the long looked-for division of the American Province, whereby the houses at New Orleans, Chicago, St. Louis and Chatawa were formed into the separate Province of St. Louis; the Eastern houses constituted henceforth the Province of Baltimore.

With the expiration of the fourth term of office Father

Helmpræcht was at last relieved of his heavy burden, and became rector of St. Michael's Church, Baltimore. Although as Provincial he had not exempted himself from taking part in the apostolic labors as far as his other duties permitted, now as local superior his zeal received a new impetus in the discharge of parochial duties. He took his turn in preaching, catechizing, attending to sick-calls, and other functions. He was most assiduous in the confessional, and generally said the late Mass, officiated as subdeacon at High Mass, and the like.

In 1880 he was appointed rector of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer in New York. Here he made his final efforts to work for the salvation of souls. But his health and strength was failing, and he sighed for the hour of release. Often he would exclaim: "Oh, if I only could die as a simple subject!" His infirmities increased from day to day, until, at last, on May 28, 1884, the news arrived that he had received a successor, and might retire to his own cell. It was high time, indeed, for his malady became more severe and painful. Over six months of intense suffering were allotted to the good Father, in which to embellish his heavenly crown. He thanked God for the excruciating pain he endured, as for a special divine favor. The feast of the Immaculate Conception was at hand. He, therefore, begged his heavenly Mother to take him to heaven during her octave, and was so certain of seeing his ardent desire fulfilled that he was quite positive in saying he would die within said octave, and that he would die with no one at his bedside. The good brother infirmarian who attended him would not listen to the latter part of this assertion. The last day of the octave came, and as it was after ten o'clock at night, the same Brother expressed his doubt as to whether the Father would die as he had said. Thereupon Father Helmpræcht was heard whispering: "Mother! Mother! Mother!" Then he said to the Brother: "If you will leave me, I think I can sleep a little." The Brother withdrew from the room. Looking in a little later he found the good Father dead; quite as when last seen alive. His words were fulfilled, he died within the Octave of the Immaculate Conception of the "Mother" he had

loved and served so well;—and he died *alone*, that is to say, without anybody being near. He had nearly completed the sixty-fifth year of his age. Such was the earthly career of this saintly priest and religious.

A few words about his inner life may not be amiss. Father Helmpræcht was pre-eminently a man of faith. That lively faith which he had imbibed, as it were, at his mother's breast, had become the guiding principle throughout his whole earthly pilgrimage, as was evident in his religious life. After a strict training in the novitiate, he never abandoned the maxims and rules he had learned as a novice. In order to be reminded of those minor practices inculcated during the novitiate, he had them posted in his room where he could easily see them, and it was noticed by close observers that he kept them as faithfully as a young novice. He was inflexible where religious observance was in question. Both as Provincial and as local superior he was never absent from any exercise of the community, unless prevented by severe sickness or some unavoidable business. Any infringement of the rules or any innovation seemed a crime in his eyes. For this reason he watched most carefully as local Superior and especially as Provincial, lest anything be introduced which might savor of luxury or weaken religious discipline, particularly in regard to the spirit of poverty.

That he was a man of prayer need scarcely be mentioned, for viewing everything with the eye of faith, he always walked in the presence of God, and thus prayer had become, as it were, the respiration of his soul. The holy sacrifice of the Mass, the daily meditations and the other spiritual exercises prescribed by the Rule were the nourishment of his soul. From these he drew his strength and courage in bearing the severe trials and hardships he was obliged to undergo.

His lively faith made him always recognize in his higher superiors the person of Jesus Christ. After he had been in Rome and had become personally acquainted with the saintly Rector Major, Father Nicholas Mauron, it was noticed by those who knew both Father Rector Major and Father Helmpræcht, how the latter endeavored to imitate the great kindness and

affability of the former, and, although always kind and forbearing, from that time Father Helmpræcht became kindness itself.

This lively faith engendered, moreover, an unbounded confidence of the divine goodness which is never confounded. We see this clearly in the courage with which he faced difficult undertakings and met embarrassing situations. Whenever he was convinced that an undertaking was sanctioned by obedience he firmly relied on the assistance of Divine Providence. This was especially the case with the new foundations, which he so successfully negotiated.

A most prominent trait of Father Helmpræcht's life was his great charity. Both in his quality as priest and as superior that virtue shone forth most brilliantly. As confessor he was much sought both by those whose conscience was heavily laden with guilt, and by those pious, but timid souls who need spiritual comfort and encouragement. This confidence of pious penitents was increased by the belief in his personal holiness, which was confirmed by favors which some persons claimed to have obtained through his prayers.

As superior he was admirably successful in rendering his subjects happy and contented. As already mentioned he would not exempt himself from any distasteful labor connected with the holy ministry. Such an example of practical charity and profound humility could not help but promote contentment and mutual charity in every community over which he presided. When, at times, a Father would complain to him of the difficulties he had with confrères or subjects, Father Helmpræcht would smilingly reply: "We must always take men as they are, not as they ought to be." At another time he would express his wonderment in seeing faults committed, and say: "And these men, nevertheless, are striving after perfection." Even their shortcomings could not lessen the good opinion he entertained of his brethren in religion. On one occasion he was asked why he as superior performed the office of prefect of the church himself, and his answer was, that thereby he would be able to prevent much unpleasantness among his subjects. On

another occasion he believed that he had spoken rather harshly to one of the Fathers; after a little while he came to this Father and kindly begged him to address a letter for him. Such conduct could not fail to endear him to his brethren and subjects.

Having been Superior for nearly thirty-six years, it would seem that he had little opportunity of practising blind obedience, but he was skilful not to be deprived of such a merit. Thus in sickness he was as submissive to the prefect of the sick and the infirmarian as a child would be to his mother.

His genuine humility manifested itself in many ways. Thus, for instance, he would listen with close attention to anything a confrère would relate, and appear as interested as if he had heard it for the first time. His patience as Superior was often put to the severest test. He had made the resolution not to deny himself to anyone that would call on him. It often happened that, when very busy, Fathers or Brothers would call on him and unduly prolong the conversation. But good Father Helmpræcht never gave as much as an outward sign of impatience.

All these virtues shone forth most brilliantly during his last illness. There his love of suffering, patience, childlike piety, humility and charity were witnessed by all who visited him. God permitted his sufferings to be aggravated by a kind of abandonment, since the Fathers were so engrossed in their ministerial duties that they scarcely found time to visit him in the sick-room. He bore this loneliness without a murmur or a word of complaint. It is asserted that some signal favors were obtained after his death by persons imploring his intercession.

CAMPBELL, REV. JOHN.

Father Campbell, born in 1824 and ordained by Archbishop Hughes, August 17, 1854, was assistant at the Cathedral, 1854-55. He died in New York City, September 12, 1857.

McCARRON, REV. PETER.

Father McCarron, nephew of Archdeacon McCarron, who was born in County Monaghan, 1824, was educated at Fordham, and was ordained by Bishop Loughlin, January 21, 1854. He assisted at St. Mary's and at St. Joseph's, 1854-58, was transferred to Rondout for the sake of his health, and died there, January 9, 1858.

ROESCH, REV. JOSEPH.

Father Roesch, born in Carinthia, Austria, 1819, ordained by Bishop Gurk, 1844, came to America in 1854 with his brother George, also a priest, and later a Redemptorist. He had pastoral charge of Calicoon, Sullivan County, and its missions, in 1854. From 1855-56 he was pastor at Obernburg, Sullivan County, attending also the French settlement in Delaware County and several small stations in that district. In 1879-80, on account of his feeble health, he was relieved by Father Delvaux, and took up his residence with Father Kessler at St. Joseph's, Manhattanville. From February, 1881, to May, 1882, he was at St. Nicholas'. He died October 11, 1884, at St. Joseph's, and was buried October 14, at Obernburg. He was an enthusiastic botanist, and a priest of deep spirituality.

BRENNAN, REV. JAMES.

Father Brennan was raised to the priesthood by Bishop Loughlin, January 21, 1854, and was assistant at St. James' from 1854 to 1859, when he became pastor on the death of Father Thomas Martin, O.P. He was succeeded by Father Felix H. Farrelly in 1865, and left the diocese.

CLARK, FATHER.

Father Clark was assistant at St. James', 1854-56.

MANGIN, REV. C. .

Father Mangin was chaplain to the Christian Brothers in Second street, 1861.

TISSOT, FATHER PETER, S.J.

Father Tissot, born in the village of Mégève, Savoy, October 15, 1823, entered the Society of Jesus in France, October 10, 1842, and came to the United States in 1846. Most of his life was spent at St. John's College, Fordham, after his ordination chiefly as procurator. In 1860-61, he was engaged in the ministry in the parish of St. Francis Xavier, N.Y. During the Civil War he served as army chaplain with Fathers O'Reilly, Nash, Ouellet and Bruhl, all members of the New York and Canada Mission. He died at St. Francis Xavier's, June 19, 1875.

Father Tissot was the author of a little work on the Real Presence, and of another on the Scapular of Mount Carmel. He also translated Mgr. de Segur's treatise on Holy Communion. His diary as a chaplain in the United States Army will be found in the *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. III, P. I, pp. 42-88.

O'CALLAGHAN, REV. BENJAMIN.

Father O'Callaghan, after his ordination by Bishop Loughlin for Archbishop Hughes, January 21, 1854, assisted at the Transfiguration till 1856. From 1857 to 1867 he was pastor at Goshen, where he was succeeded by Rev. H. S. O'Hare. From October 1867 to 1871, he was assistant at St. Gabriel's, and in 1872 at Mott Haven, with Father Hughes. From 1878 to 1891 he was at St. Stephen's. In the latter year he became pastor at Irvington, where he died Tuesday, April 10, 1894.

BALDARF, REV. FRANCOIS J.

Father Baldarf was raised to the sub-diaconate by Bishop Loughlin, January 18, 1854, and to the priesthood by Archbishop Hughes, August 17, 1874. Soon thereafter he became assistant at St. John the Baptist's.

GOCKELN, REV. FREDERICK WILLIAM, S.J.

Father Gockeln was born near Paderborn, in Westphalia, Germany, November 8, 1820, and at the age of thirteen came to America. For a time he engaged in business in New York and later entered the Sulpician College, Montreal. Here he became acquainted with the Rev. John Larkin, a learned Sulpician, and five years later set out with him for the distant Jesuit mission of Kentucky. Father Gockeln was admitted to the noviceship there, February 16, 1841, some four months later than his companion, Father Larkin. During the scholastic year, 1845-46, came the removal of the members of the Kentucky mission to Fordham. Here Father Gockeln spent some months in the study of philosophy, but was sent in 1847 to finish his studies at Brugelette, Belgium. He was ordained in the early part of 1852, and on the termination of his third year of probation, in the house of Our Lady of Liesse, at Laon, was admitted to his last vows, February 2, 1854. On his return to America, Father Gockeln was employed for the eight ensuing years at St. Mary's, Montreal, St. John's, Fordham, and St. Francis Xavier's, N.Y., at one time as professor, at another as prefect of studies, but for the most part as chief disciplinarian. Then followed a seven years' experience of missionary life at Guelph and Chatham, Canada. In 1868, he returned to Fordham as vice-president, and at the close of the term was sent as minister to the scholasticate at Woodstock, Md. In the following year he was at St. Lawrence's, New York City, assisting in the parish, and then as superior from August 1871 until June 25, 1874, when he became president of St. John's College, Fordham, retaining this responsible post till the summer of 1882.

From Fordham Father Gockeln was sent as prefect of studies to Holy Cross College, Worcester. Subsequently, he was for a short time parish priest at St. Peter's, Jersey City, and finally, on the death of Father Cleary in 1884, he was made Superior of St. Joseph's, Providence, where he died piously, November 26, 1886.

MAHONEY, REV. PATRICK.

Father Mahoney, ordained by Bishop Loughlin for Archbishop Hughes, January 21, 1854, was assistant at Holy Cross from February 15, 1854, to November 4, 1855, assistant at St. Bridget's, 1855-56-57, and pastor at Haverstraw from 1857 to 1876. In 1877 he was assistant at Cold Spring. From January, 1878, to September, 1880, he was pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Rossville, Staten Island. He died November 6, 1880.

LYNCH, REV. EDWARD.

Father Lynch, on finishing his studies at Fordham, was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, August 17, 1854, and was appointed assistant at Rondout in the following October. One year later he was transferred to Rosendale. In 1856 he became pastor of St. Mary's, Yonkers, where he died of consumption, May 5, 1865. "The Church of St. Mary's, Yonkers, the large and splendid schoolhouse, . . . are a few of the results of his zeal and untiring efforts." *Freeman's Journal*, May 20, 1865.

MOYLAN, FATHER WILLIAM, S.J.

Father Moylan was born at Armagh, Ireland, June 24, 1822. At an early age he came to America, made his classical studies and theology in the college and seminary of Quebec, and after ordination as a secular priest labored for some years among the Indians and fishermen at Cape Gaspé on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He entered the Society of Jesus, November 14, 1851. His first assignment was to the College of St. Francis Xavier where he taught from 1852 to 1854. This was followed by a year of teaching at St. John's College, Fordham, after which he took up the work of the ministry in the parish of St. Francis Xavier, N.Y. With the exception of one year spent in teaching rhetoric in the College of Santa Clara, California, he remained at the Church of St. Francis Xavier until 1864, when he was sent for his third year of

probation to Laon in France. On his return he was stationed for a short time at Troy, N.Y. He was appointed president of St. John's College, Fordham, July 31, 1865, and upon his retirement in 1868 resumed the work of the ministry at St. Francis Xavier's. On July 31, 1869, he became pastor of St. Lawrence's (now St. Ignatius') Church, 84th St., N.Y., and two years later was sent to Montreal, where he held the post of English preacher at the Gesù, for five years, attracting attention by his solid and eloquent discourses. From Canada he came back to the States in 1876, and during his remaining years was engaged in parish work in New York and Jersey City. In September, 1890, he retired to Fordham, where he died peacefully, January 14, 1891.

PHELAN, REV. JOSEPH.

Father Phelan was pastor at Sing Sing, 1854-55, and went South for his health. He died at Aiken, S.C., April 17, 1856.

NOTE:—The Editor returns his sincere thanks to Revs. Edward P. Spillane, S.J., Joseph Wuest, C.S.S.R., who have kindly filled in the biographies of Fathers Joseph Loyzance, Theodore Thiry, Andrew Kobler, Remigius Tellier, Michael Tomei, Peter Tissot, William Moylan, Frederick William Gockeln, Raymundus Sola, Joseph Duverney, Charles Gresslin, John van Ryckevorsel, Joseph Helmpræcht, Leopold Petsch. The Editor also returns heartfelt thanks to Dr. J. V. Crowne, Ph.D., for the efficient way in which he has edited Archbishop Corrigan's Register.

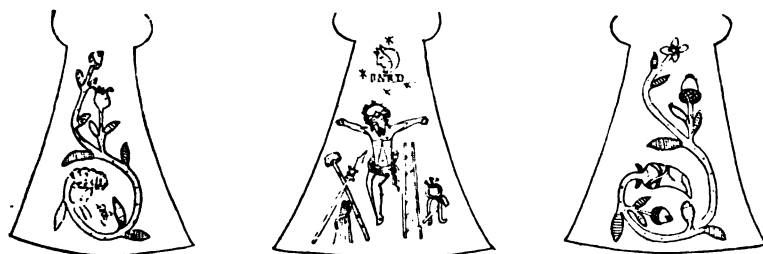
THE CROSSDRUM CHALICE.

BY THOMAS GAFFNEY TAAFFE, PH.D.

It is a far cry, in more senses than one, from the day of religious persecution in the seventeenth century in Ireland to the day of religious freedom in the twentieth century in America. But the two periods are curiously linked by the Crossdrum Chalice, a relic of the Cromwellian persecutions in Ireland, now in the possession of the Reverend James A. Taaffe, S.J., of Fordham University, New York. The chalice is a small silver vessel, less than seven inches in height, of graceful proportions, with a hexagonal base. Three of the sides of the base bear symbolic decorations, crudely etched. The front shows a figure of the Crucifixion from which the cross is curiously omitted, surrounded by the instruments of the Passion and surmounted by an oddly conceived moon and stars. One of the sides shows a device representing a branch with acorns growing on it; the device on the other side is more difficult to classify. Around the base is the inscription in the quaint lettering of the period: "*Ora pro Stephano Cooke et Elizabetha ejus uxore et Maria filia 1635.*" (Pray for Stephen Cooke and Elizabeth his wife and Mary his daughter.) The word "pro," in the inscription, is almost obliterated, and the chasing at one spot on the boss is almost worn away by the contact of the thumbs of many celebrants in the elevation of the chalice; and the rim of the base at the back is worn completely away. The paten, which has been preserved with the chalice, bears the inscription "I H S" in the centre, and a very simple decoration around the edge. The trade-mark of the maker is so worn away that it is illegible. The antiquity of this relic, and the fact that, with one exception, it is the oldest chalice in the country, would invest it with a deal of interest, but it has an historic interest far greater than any which attaches to it merely from its great



THE CROSSDRUM CHALICE.



THE CROSSDRUM CHALICE — ETCHINGS ON THE BASE.

age. It saw its best service in Ireland in the days when that country was devastated by wars and persecutions, when the Holy Sacrifice had to be offered up by stealth in remote corners of the woods and hills, and a priest was a thing to be hunted for a bounty. It was during these troublous times that the chalice disappeared, and the story of its recovery nearly a century later reads more like a chapter from a romance than a statement of simple fact.

In the spring of 1750, or thereabout, so the story comes to me, Mr. Hugh Reilly of Crossdrum, near the town of Oldcastle, County Meath, was directing the operations of some workmen who were clearing away a dense growth of underbrush at the foot of a hill on his farm. It was the growth of many years, for that field had been long unused and neglected. He walked about, idly poking the bushes with his stick, when at one point the ground seemed to yield to his thrust and, groping about with his stick, he found that he had come upon an opening in the hillside. The workmen were summoned and soon they cleared away the brush at this point, disclosing a hole or cave large enough to permit a man to crawl in. Torches were brought and the cave searched. Within, stretched on the ground, was the skeleton of a man, the bones bare and bleached, with some remnants of garments clinging to them. Beside it was a leather knapsack, rotted and mildewed. Brought into the light and opened, it yielded up the tattered fragments of a chasuble, an alb—all the vestments of the Mass; an altar-stone, a pair of candlesticks, a crucifix—everything essential for the Holy Sacrifice; and a rude metal case containing chalice and paten, wrapped in a bag of poplin. Evidently the skeleton was that of a priest, and the knapsack contained a traveling equipment for celebrating Mass, for everything was small and light, for the convenience of the carrier. But the identity of the priest was a mystery. There was no record of a priest having disappeared in the neighborhood, and the finders were face to face with a puzzling problem. The body had evidently lain there for many years, for the bones were dry and everything perishable in the outfit was rotted and decayed. Moreover the

spot was unfrequented and the rank growth of underbrush had not been disturbed within the memory of man.

The news spread rapidly, as news will in a community little used to excitement, and the curious and the reverent flocked to the spot. And among them came some of the oldest inhabitants, men feeble with years, whose memories carried them back through the days of the Penal Code to the even more trying times of the previous century. And these told of the secret ministrations in those troublous days of a devoted priest whose name had long been forgotten; of his occasional appearances among them when he dared to come out of his hiding; of Mass celebrated in the gray of the early morning, in the shelter of the hedges or in some wild glen among the hills. They told, too, of one eventful day when the word was secretly passed that he was in the neighborhood and that Mass would be celebrated in a sequestered spot. There the faithful flocked, but hardly had the Mass been concluded when the outposts brought the news that the soldiers had been informed and were even then on their way to seize the venturesome priest. He took to the hills and was never seen again. The congregation scattered and later, in their homes, secretly rejoiced to see the soldiers come back disappointed and wearied with their fruitless search. There was nothing to prove that the remains now unearthed were those of the priest who had ministered to this flock under such difficulties three-quarters of a century before. Indeed, there was absolutely nothing to give a clue to his identity, but there was a strong presumption that he was the same. How he came to his death—whether he was wounded in his flight and crawled into this hiding-place to die; or escaped and was subsequently carried off in his retreat by a sudden stroke; or was so beset that he dared not come forth and so starved to death—no one could know. But there was no question as to his calling. So the bones were reverently buried and the sacred vessels turned over by the finder to his brother, the Reverend Bartholomew Reilly, Parish Priest of Kilbride (now Mountnugent) and Killeagh, in the diocese of Meath. What became of the other articles found in the dead priest's knapsack is not known.

The chalice and paten, still in the tattered poplin bag and the rude metal outer case in which they were found, are all that remain. Father Reilly kept them until his death, in 1782, when they passed to his nephew, the Reverend Owen Reilly, who was also his curate. Father Owen did not long survive his uncle. He died in 1784 and the one grave of the two priests in the churchyard at Killeagh is marked by a monument erected by Hugh Reilly, the brother of one and the father of the other.

Who was the next possessor of the chalice is a matter of some doubt. There is a question whether it went directly to the Reverend George McDermot, a relative of the Reilly family, who was curate at Kilskyre and afterwards pastor at Kilbeg and Oldcastle, or came to him through his uncle, the Reverend Dr. Patrick McDermot, of Castletown-Kilpatrick. It is not certain that Father George McDermot was ordained at the time of Father Reilly's death, although it is probable that he was. He was a student in the Irish College at Nantes in 1780, for his name appears among the signers of an address from the Meath students at Nantes to Bishop Plunket in that year. He was appointed to Kilbeg in 1785 and transferred to Oldcastle in 1787. If it be true that it passed through the hands of Dr. Patrick McDermot it has acquired an added distinction. Dr. McDermot was a notable man. He was famous no less for his scholarship than for his distinguished services both in France and Ireland. He was born in Ardbraccan, in 1703, and lived to be 111 years old. It is recorded of him that he celebrated Mass in Oldcastle at the age of 108 years. He was educated and ordained in France, served there on the mission, and was a chaplain in the Irish Brigade of the French army at the battle of Fontenoy. He later returned to Ireland to labor among his own people in the parishes of Grangegeith, Drumconrath, Nobber and Castletown-Kilpatrick. He died in 1814.¹

The next possessor of the chalice, the Reverend George McDermot, was a native of Navan, and died, while parish priest at Oldcastle, in 1832, at the age of seventy-five years. The chalice

¹ "The Diocese of Meath;" Rev. A. Cogan (Dublin, 1867), vol II, p. 285.

seems to have brought with it in most cases a guarantee of longevity, for the Reverend George Leonard, Father McDermot's nephew, and successor in the pastorate of Oldcastle, to whom he bequeathed it, lived to be eighty-five years old. He studied at Maynooth and was ordained in 1818. He succeeded his uncle in 1832 and during the forty-five years of his pastorate never spent a night outside his parish, except while on retreat. He died in 1877, and the chalice became the property of his nephew, the Reverend Thomas Fagan, Parish Priest of Turin, or Rathconnell, County Westmeath. Father Fagan was a member of a family which has long been prominently identified with the history of the Church in Meath and Westmeath. The Fagans of Corboy, of whom he was one, and the Fagans of Castlepollard, to whom they were related, have furnished in every generation for centuries many priests both for home and foreign missions. Father Fagan was one of three brothers who were ordained to the priesthood.

Father Fagan's death in 1886, sent the chalice to America, for his only immediate living relative in the priesthood was his nephew, the Very Reverend Thomas J. Gaffney, of Rutland, Vt. And the story of its coming and the attendant circumstances—its passing temporarily from the possession of the family, the quest for its recovery and the characteristic vigor with which Father Gaffney pursued that quest—invest it with a new interest. It had been Father Fagan's intention to leave the chalice to another nephew, who, however, died before he entered into Holy Orders. Father Fagan left practically no property and when his funeral expenses were paid nothing remained but the chalice. His administrator, knowing nothing of its history and its intimate connection with the family, for Father Fagan was a secretive man, turned it over to another priest. Relatives of Father Gaffney informed him of this and, without losing time in correspondence, he set sail for Ireland to secure possession of it. But the priest who held it knew its historic value and refused to yield it up. Father Gaffney argued and pleaded and even offered to replace it with the finest chalice the goldsmith's art could furnish, but in vain. Those who knew Father

Gaffney in life can picture the force and the vigor with which he prosecuted his claim; he must have been a strong man, indeed, to have held his own against him. But he did and Father Gaffney came away disappointed. On his way home, however, he told the circumstances to the vicar-general of the diocese, an old friend of his uncle's, who assured him that the matter would be adjusted. Some time after Father Gaffney's return the vicar-general had occasion to visit the other priest and in the course of conversation the chalice was produced for inspection. Putting it back in its case the vicar-general took possession of it, informing his astonished host that he intended to deliver it to its rightful owner, Father Gaffney. He wrote immediately to Vermont, asking how the chalice should be sent. The answer came by cable: "Don't send it," and that night Father Gaffney informed his curate that he was leaving home for a few weeks. He took the night train to New York and took ship the next morning for Queenstown. He went directly to his friend, the vicar-general, secured the chalice and took the next boat home to America. He would trust the precious relic to no other hands but his own. He was home in Rutland before anyone knew the object of his journey. Thenceforth, until his death, September 12, 1906, on every St. Patrick's Day he celebrated Mass with the little chalice. In his will he bequeathed it to his nephew, the Reverend James A. Taaffe, S.J., in whose possession it is now. Father Taaffe had been ordained less than three months before, at Woodstock, Md.

Such is the history of the chalice since its discovery in the knapsack of the dead and forgotten priest. But curiosity is naturally aroused as to its previous history and the identity of its original possessor. Whose was the skeleton found in the cave at Crossdrum? There was nothing about the remains to give a clue and the field for conjecture is wide. The records of the parish of Kilbride which Dean Cogan has collated in his history of the Diocese of Meath seem to throw some light on the matter. He tells us that in the early part of the seventeenth century and during the Cromwellian régime the Reverend Robert Plunket was pastor of Kilbride. He quotes from Dr.

Moran's "Memoir of Dr. Oliver Plunket" the following passage from a letter, written by Dr. Plunket, while Bishop of Meath, to the Secretary of the Propaganda, dated Killiney, June 2, 1669:

"I propose to you (as Coadjutor of Kilmore) a person renowned for his learning and piety, who during the persecution of Cromwell never abandoned the sheep entrusted to his charge. For six years he dwelt by day in the caverns and rocks, and by night offered the Holy Sacrifice and refreshed the scattered flock. His name is Robert Plunket, Pastor of Kilbride, and son of the Baron of Lockriff (Loughcrew), not far from the diocese of Kilmore."

Dean Cogan has discovered records of the deaths and places of burial of nearly all the pastors of Kilbride and the neighboring parishes, but of Father Plunket all he can say is that he "seems to have rested from his labours soon after this date"² (1669). It would seem, then, that he disappeared. But the date 1669 corresponds roughly to the date indicated by the tradition that was alive in the neighborhood when the skeleton was discovered in the middle of the following century. Moreover, we see by the Blessed Oliver's letter that "for six years he dwelt by day in the caverns and rocks." It cannot be denied that this narrative suggests that the remains found in the cave may have been those of Father Plunket. Dean Cogan himself seems inclined to believe that there is some connection, for he appends to his meagre record of Father Plunket a footnote in which he tells of the discovery of the skeleton. Presumably he felt that as his work is largely a compilation of records, he could hardly declare as a matter of history that the skeleton was that of Father Plunket; but his mention of the discovery in this connection inclines one to the belief that he attaches some significance to it. Apparently, however, he did not know of the association of this chalice with the cave at Crossdrum, for he mentions it elsewhere, in his account of the parish of Oldcastle, without any comment except on its great age.³

² "The Diocese of Meath," vol. II, p. 317.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 339.

But another question presents itself and demands an answer. Who were Stephen Cooke and Elizabeth his wife and Mary their daughter, whose pious wish to be remembered in the Sacrifice of the Mass is being gratified to-day, after nearly three centuries? It would be interesting to identify them, if it were at all possible. The presentation of a chalice suggests the possible commemoration of the ordination of a priest, and if the record could be found of the ordination of a priest of that name in 1635, we might be justified in assuming a connection. Cooke is an English name and, naturally, one turns to Douai, the nursery of seventeenth century English priests. In the "First Diary" of the English College at Douai we find a "List of Priests Ordained (1573-1632)." This list ends three years before the date on the chalice, but we find among those who were ordained on September 23, 1628, "Jacobus Prince, hic Gulielmus Coocke, Lincolniensis." The same entry appears under the date of November 30, 1628, on a "List of Priests Sent to the English Mission (1574-1644)." Among the documents appended to the First Diary is "the oath taken by students on the foundation, with the names of those who took this oath (1627-1653)," and here again under date of April 20, 1628, the same name appears, although here it is spelt "Cooke."⁴

It would, perhaps, be straining credulity to base a theory on so slight a foundation as this, but when one is groping utterly in the dark it may, at least, serve as ground for conjecture. It might be argued against this suggestion that even if it were warranted it is hardly likely that the chalice would have found its way to Ireland. Moreover, though the name Cooke is English rather than Irish, that fact has no significance, for long before 1635 English names had become common in Ireland, and their bearers had become "more Irish than the Irish themselves." There were Cookes aplenty in Ireland, even in Meath, at that time. But none of the Meath Cookes would have been likely to be the giver of a chalice. They were Cromwellians and hardly to be suspected of encouraging Popish ir-

⁴ "Records of English Catholics. First and Second Diaries of Douay," Thomas Francis Knox, D.D., of the Oratory (London, 1878).

regularities. But there were other Cookes of an earlier wave of immigration. O'Callaghan says^a that the Cooke family settled in Ireland in the century after the Norman Invasion. O'Hart^b agrees with him with respect to the thirteenth century, and adds that they came from Norfolk in the train of Roger de Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. While he makes this general statement, O'Hart is unable to trace the family farther back than 1690, when he finds that John Cooke, of Carlow, was an officer in a regiment of horse in the army of King James II. After the accession of King William his estates were confiscated and the family went to Connaught. These circumstances establish the religious and political affiliations of the Cookes of Carlow and make it possible, at least, that Stephen Cooke was of their blood. If this be true, a curious coincidence is worth noting. According to O'Hart, a grandson of this John Cooke became a priest and subsequently became Parish Priest at Ballymote. And Ballymote is the seat of the principal line of the family of the present possessor of the chalice, the head of the family, Count Taaffe, of Austria, still retaining his Irish title of Baron of Ballymote.

All this conjecture, of course, leads to nothing definite. The history of the chalice since its discovery at Crossdrum, and the fact that it served through the troublous days of the Cromwellian persecution are beyond question, but to attempt to establish positively, either the identity of the dead priest or of Stephen Cooke is a futile undertaking. As a matter of curious speculation, however, it has, at least, the merit of unique interest. One fact, though, is beyond peradventure. The chalice is a rich and priceless treasure, a relic to be venerated by all who prize their faith and glory to hear the record of the sufferings and the sacrifices of their fathers to preserve that faith in the time of persecution.

^a "History of the Irish Brigade."

^b "Irish Pedigrees" (Dublin, 1892), vol. II, p. 132.—"Irish Landed Gentry" (Dublin, 1884), p. 45.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE SOCIETY OF ST.
VINCENT DE PAUL IN THE UNITED STATES
UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE SU-
PERIOR COUNCIL OF NEW YORK.

WRITTEN IN 1884 BY L. T. JAMME.

To the thoughtful observer it is evident that the love of God for man is ever watchful and indirectly exercised for his welfare, both spiritual and temporal, notwithstanding the free will given to the creature to shape his career through life, for better or for worse, in proportion to his observance or neglect of the commandments of God and of the laws of nature established by Him.

When man, giving unbridled license to his passions and brutal appetites, looked upon his fellow as a means to his gratification, regardless of the wrongs he inflicted, God sent His Son to teach the proper relation of man to man by word and example. The result was a check to brutality, wherever the disciples of Christ were allowed to carry out the inspired teaching of their divine Master.

As time rolled by and the spread of Christianity increased, the old enemy brought in new issues to defeat, if it were possible, the beneficent action of divine Providence; and selfishness, ambition, jealousy, and tyranny again assumed a powerful sway over men, even over men professing to be Christians.

But at every turn we find the love of God active; at every critical period He endows some of His faithful disciples with power to enlist active sympathy for the performance of well-conceived efforts to alleviate the sufferings of their fellow men. Thus, for instance, we see that when the art of printing had reached a point which allowed the diffusion of reading matter among the masses, and when education to the poor had become a necessity, De la Salle appeared, and by his zeal and devotion, schools for the people were established, and his labors resulted in the numerous flourishing schools, academies, and colleges

found wherever the Catholic Church exists. In fact the only obstacle to still greater development is the inadequate number of capable workmen in this fruitful vineyard of the Lord.

Next we see as a result of the devastating wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a relaxation of the sympathy of man for man, increasing poverty, and numberless orphans scarcely cared for or even looked upon as creatures of God and in many large cities left to perish from want. Then it was that God sent another apostle of His divine love, to cultivate and revive the neglected flower of charity and love for our neighbor, St. Vincent de Paul. His efforts and the charitable institutions he established are now the admiration of all mankind. At the time when Socialism began to rear its head in France, and when its promoters were insidiously instilling into the minds of the working-classes angry feelings toward the rich and hatred toward the clergy, a few noble young students combined to devise ways and means to combat this new evil by personally visiting and relieving the distress of the poor abounding in their city. This was only a revival, under lay auspices, of the conferences of the clergy—established long before by St. Vincent de Paul for the same object—with the wealthy men and women of his time—to provide for the foundling, the orphan, the old, the sick, and the poor.

1833

This humble beginning of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris in the year 1832-33 became the rallying-point for good and true men throughout the land. Gradually in every city and town of France similar conferences were organized by laymen, having for special object the relief of the poor and the care of their children, by personal visits, at which good advice and material aid were given them and interest shown for the welfare of the growing generation—and this done by a class of men who were believed to be enemies of the poor and the workingman, or indifferent to their condition.

The Society spread throughout Europe, where the class it aims to benefit is large, notwithstanding the efforts made by Governments to diminish its number. In our country the

steadily increasing immigration multiplied the unfortunate or the impoverished, and when sickness was added to their other trials the Christian's heart was often sorely pained and his ingenuity taxed to stem the tide of growing misery. The good accomplished in Europe by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul had become known to many, and in 1846 the attempt was made in New York City, in the then Cathedral parish of St. Patrick's, to organize a Conference which could be affiliated to the parent Society in Paris. It was not only for the material relief of the Catholic poor that the Society of St. Vincent de Paul was organized here. It had also in view to guard poor Catholics, old and young, against efforts of Protestant societies which aimed covertly at the destruction of the faith of our poor children by taking possession of them, withdrawing them not only from the influence of their parents (which in many cases was in itself praiseworthy) but also from those who could preserve in their souls the true faith of their Baptism.

1846

The first Conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in New York City was held in St. Patrick's parish; the gentlemen who met came from that and three other parishes. It was intended, after working together for a while, to establish Conferences in these other parishes. This Conference was regularly affiliated to the Society in Paris in 1846. In 1848, through the initiative of a gentleman who had belonged to the St. Vincent de Paul Society in Europe, a Conference was established regularly in Utica. In 1856 the Conferences of St. Joseph's and St. Peter's parishes were established, and in order to bind these Conferences closely together, so as to insure uniformity of action outside of the regular work defined by the rules, a Particular Council was established in this city, composed of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Conferences regularly aggregated to the parent Society in Paris. Through this Council correspondence was established with all the dioceses in the United States, with a view to the spread of the Society in all Catholic centers of population.

1856
Particular Council of New York City

1857

In 1857 the Conference of St. Francis Xavier, New York, and a Conference in Jersey City were formed, and Brooklyn also moved in the work, but preferred, for reasons of its own, to communicate directly with the General Council in Paris, and has continued to do so.

1858
First efforts
towards a
Protectory
for children

In 1858 the progress was more marked; five Conferences in New York were aggregated, and Philadelphia, Albany, Seneca Falls, Rochester, Buffalo, Louisville, and Milwaukee established Conferences, so that twenty Conferences were in existence at this period. It was in 1858 that the New York City Conferences felt the necessity for concerted action in behalf of the children of their poor. As early as April of that year resolutions were adopted by the Particular Council, and a committee named to wait upon the ecclesiastical authorities to enlist their active support for the establishment of a "House of Protection for Destitute Catholic Children." The time, however, did not seem to have arrived for carrying out the project, and for five years more our poor children were more or less at the mercy of the

1863
Protectory
established

Children's Aid Society. It was not till 1863 when, the evil having become intolerable, the persistent efforts of the President (Dr. Anderson) and the Vice-President of the Council were successful, and the active cooperation of His Grace the Archbishop culminated in the establishment of the House of Protection in Eighth-sixth Street, which became the Catholic Protectory at Westchester—thanks, under divine Providence, to the good management of the gentlemen having its interests in hand, so ably seconded by the Sisters of Charity and the Christian Brothers who have the immediate charge of the children committed to their care.

Randall's
Island
Mission

It was in the same year—1858—that the Particular Council of New York made efforts to withdraw the Catholic children from the influence of the Children's Aid Society, and steps were taken to assist more effectually the Jesuit Father

who was allowed to visit the children taken care of by the city on Randall's Island. A committee was named to take the matter in hand. It succeeded in obtaining from the good sense and fairness of the city Government, permission to celebrate Mass and to teach Catechism, at a specified time on Sundays, to the Catholic children. These children were no longer required to attend the Protestant religious exercises. The Randall's Island Committee, while making these changes, caused no friction in carrying out their work and practically refuted the allegations of the authorities of the Juvenile Asylum, who stubbornly opposed all efforts made to obtain the same facilities for the separate religious instruction of the Catholic children committed to its care.

1859
Institution of
Superior Council
of New York

In 1859 four more Conferences were regularly organized in New York City, and one each in Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Newark, Jersey City, Pittsburg and Dubuque; five in Philadelphia, five in New Orleans, adding thus twenty-two Conferences to the Society. The growing number of Conferences in this country, together with the probability of further accessions, so increased the labors of the Council General in Paris that the time had arrived for placing the government of the Society in the United States under the care of a Superior Council. To achieve this end the Council General requested the Particular Council of New York to consult all the Conferences, and these having readily yielded to the instructions of the Particular Council of New York, to whose efforts in fact they owed their existence, gave their consent for the establishment of a Superior Council in New York, which would be invested with the government of the Society in this country under sanction of the Council General in Paris and subject to its rulings. The consent was obtained from all the conferences excepting those in Brooklyn, which still preferred to act independently under the immediate control of the Council in Paris. Consequently, early in the year 1860, the Superior Council of New York was established, and was regularly authorized to govern the Society as stated above, in the

territory east of the Mississippi and west of the Missouri River. The City of St. Louis already possessed a Council governing some fourteen Conferences in the State of Missouri; it preferred to maintain its autonomy, although acting in amicable concert with the Council of New York.

1860

In this year of 1860, New York City, Albany, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Dubuque, and St. Paul each added one Conference to the number previously existing. Philadelphia added three and Washington two, making altogether eleven new Conferences. Particular Councils were established in Albany, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg.

1861

In 1861 the progress was not so rapid; only one Conference was organized in this city, one in Louisville, and three in Chicago. Particular Councils were established in Washington and Louisville. The progress was equally slow in 1862; three more Conferences were organized in New York City, two in Philadelphia, one each in Boston, St. Paul, Washington, and Louisville.

1863

Little Sisters
of the Poor

In 1863, Utica, Syracuse, and Alleghany City added one Conference each. Brooklyn had then seven Conferences united to its own Council, and St. Louis fourteen Conferences with its Superior Council, all actively engaged in the good work.

Christian Sol-
dier's Manual

The dark days of the war for the Union were upon us; the armies on both sides comprised many Catholic soldiers, and a great need of proper reading matter for the well in camp and prisons, and the sick and wounded in the hospitals was felt. An appeal was made to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul to relieve this want. Collections of good reading matter were made; everywhere booksellers, publishers, and newspapers were all willing to respond generously to the appeals made them, and many cases of books were forwarded to the proper localities. A neat, portable book called *The Christian Soldier's Manual* was published by the Society, and thousands of copies were distributed among the soldiers scattered over the country in camps, hos-

pitals, and prisons. The clergy assisted the Society most earnestly in this work.

The better care of old and destitute men and women had all along been an object of much solicitude to the members of the various Conferences, and in discussing this matter at one of the Council meetings, the question was asked: "Is it possible to settle English-speaking Little Sisters of the Poor in our large cities, to meet this want?" This suggestion was acted upon. How to work it out was the problem. About that time the constant friend of the Society, Archbishop Hughes, was going to Europe. He was to visit Paris, and might bring this project to the consideration of the Mother House of the Little Sisters, and by his well-known persuasive powers he might be able to carry out the wish of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Consequently it was decided that he be waited upon by the Spiritual Director of the Society in New York City, accompanied by the President of the Council, and the matter laid before him. His Grace at once appreciated the case and promised to do what he could to induce the Little Sisters of the Poor to come to the United States. He did so. The spiritual adviser and procurator of the Sisters was sent over to examine into the feasibility and probable success of the venture. We all know the result in the numerous Houses now existing and thriving, where old and destitute men and women are so well and so devotedly cared for by these admirable Religious.

Up to this time—1863—the Society had not considered it worth while to publish anything concerning itself beyond the annual written reports sent yearly to the Council General in Paris, as called for by the rules. There was, however, a growing desire manifested by the various Councils to circulate the yearly result of the work done and the condition of the Society among the members only. This desire was submitted to the Council General in Paris, and permission was obtained for the Superior Council of New York to publish such annual reports for circulation among the members, confining itself to the work done and to be done, and to instructions for the advancement and better government of the Conference. The first printed

1864
First printed
reports

report was that containing the statistics for the year 1864. Meanwhile, in order to consolidate the efforts of the Society and at the suggestion of the Council General in Paris, the Superior Council of New York called a general assembly of representatives from every Council and Conference in the United States for the purpose of becoming personally acquainted, and of conferring together on matters appertaining to the Society, its condition and its better government, in conformity with the rules sanctioned by the Holy Father. This first general assembly was held in New York in September, 1864, and continued for three days. The Very Rev. Vicar General of New York presided. The Very Rev. Vicar General of Brooklyn and ten reverend Spiritual Directors of Conferences in Washington, Chicago, and New York City also honored the meetings with their presence. Besides the Superior Council of New York, whose President directed the proceedings, ten Particular Councils and seventy-one Conferences were represented.

1865
Second General
Assembly

In September of the following year—1865—the second general assembly was called to complete the work proposed and outlined at the previous year's meeting. It was still more fully attended. The clergy again honored it with their presence: the Most Rev. Archbishop of New York, the Bishops of Brooklyn, Chicago, and Newark; the Vicars General of New York and Brooklyn, and seven spiritual directors of Conferences from Newark, Baltimore, and New York.

The Superior Council of St. Louis joined in the proceedings; all the Particular Councils, eleven in number at the time, including that of Brooklyn, and one hundred and one Conferences composing the Society in the United States, were all represented. It was a most encouraging and satisfactory gathering, and from that day to this a lively interest has been shown by the members in all the works of the Society. The number of Conferences has increased, as well as the zeal and activity of the members for the welfare of the poor.

The first printed report of the Society was issued in the year 1864; it shows the growth of the Society, which numbered one Conference with some twenty members in 1846.

The number of Conferences under the jurisdiction of the Superior Council of New York was now..... 64

The number of Particular Councils in as many localities where more than one Conference existed was..... 9

The number of active members was..... 3,529

The number of poor families visited by the members during the year 1864 was..... 4,871

The number of visits made by members to these poor families was71,812

No record had been kept of boys attending Sunday-school at which members assisted in teaching.

The amount of money contributed by members and collected by them from various sources was.....\$68,716

The amount expended during the same year in food, fuel, clothing, tuition, etc., was.....\$61,362

In the above résumé of that year's work the following is the share of the City of New York:

Number of Conferences 20

Number of active members..... 210

Number of poor families relieved..... 2,099

Number of visits made them.....44,623

Amount of money contributed and collected by members\$37,767

Amount of money distributed in food, fuel, clothing, tuition, etc.\$32,567

These figures prove more eloquently than words can tell the zeal and activity shown by the members.

In the year 1869 the Conferences of New York noticed the good results obtained by the Children's Aid Society in its endeavors to provide for a class of children well-known to all of us—the newsboys and bootblacks, whose moral training needs especially to be looked after. In this class,

1869
St. Vincent's
Home for Boys,
now the Mission
of the Immacu-
late Virgin

Catholic children predominate. The Particular Council, after carefully considering the matter, appointed a committee to gather reliable data upon which it could decide whether it was practicable for the Conferences of New York to undertake the establishment of one or more lodging-houses in which could be accommodated newsboys, bootblacks and other poor boys who had better be removed from the bad influences of depraved parents. The result was the establishment of the St. Vincent de Paul lodging-house in Warren Street in the summer of 1870. After having been in successful operation for two years, it clearly demonstrated its power for good. Like most of the works of the Society, it passed under the management of a zealous priest selected by the Society, after consultation with its spiritual advisers. The St. Vincent de Paul lodging-house has grown to be the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, so ably managed by the Rev. Father Drumgoole. Until the year 1876 the events deserving special notice were few and somewhat cosmopolitan in their nature. The assembling of the Ecumenical Council in Rome seemed a proper occasion for the Society to

Address to
Pope Pius IX.

show its attachment to the Head of the Church; consequently an address expressing the devotion of all the members of the Society in the United States to the Supreme Pontiff was prepared by the Superior Council of New York, to which were appended the names of all the Councils and Conferences and of their officers. This address was appropriately engrossed, illuminated, and bound. It was presented to the Holy Father by the President of the Council of New York then in Rome, and his acknowledgment, which he graciously condescended to give in writing, was by a happy coincidence dated on the anniversary of our national independence, July 4, 1870.

Superior Council
of New Orleans
instituted

At the solicitation of the Superior Council of New York, the Council General in Paris instituted the Superior Council of New Orleans and placed the territory west of the Mississippi River, south of Missouri, under the jurisdiction of this new Council, thus lightening the already great

labors and responsibility of the Superior Council of New York.

In 1871 the immense calamity caused by the fire in Chicago, and by the German invasion of France, aroused the sympathy and zeal of the Society in the United States. As early as 1868 it had tried successfully to do something for the sufferers from yellow fever in New Orleans, when it collected and sent \$2,100.

Special collections for relief of outside destitution

Emboldened by this result the Council of New York again appealed to the various Conferences under its jurisdiction, and the result was a collection of \$2,500 for the Chicago sufferers, remitted to the Bishop for distribution; and \$4,100 sent to the Council General in Paris for the relief of the poor visited by the Conferences of France. In 1874, the floods in the southwest causing very great distress in the Mississippi district, the appeal of the New Orleans Council was met by the Council of New York with a collection of \$1,100.

1875
Death of
Dr. Anderson

In 1875 the Society had to deplore the loss of its first President in the United States—Dr. Henry James Anderson, President of the Superior as well as of the Particular Councils of New York, a man whose memory remains dear to all true Vincentians. He died at Lahore, India, where he had gone to make scientific researches, in which pursuits he was profoundly interested.

1876
Third General
Assembly

In 1876 the Society celebrated the thirtieth year of its existence by holding its third general assembly. This year also was celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. As was most appropriate to the time, the assembly of the St. Vincent de Paul Society was held in Philadelphia. It was well attended, and productive of much good for the management of the Conferences. The progress made by the Society during the thirty years of its existence is fully set forth in the report published that year.

Number of Conferences under the Council of New York	204
Of this number, however, only 192 had reported, and they stated an active membership of.....	5,622
Families visited and relieved.....	14,075
Visits made to these families.....	172,433
Number of boys attending Sunday-schools.....	37,799
Amount of money contributed by members and collected by them from all sources.....	\$154,706
Amount distributed to poor families in food, fuel, clothing, tuition, etc.....	\$157,303
The share of the City of New York in the above figures is:	
Number of Conferences.....	35
Active members	991
Poor families visited and relieved.....	5,400
Visits made to these families.....	69,385
Boys attending Sunday-school.....	9,124
Amount contributed and collected.....	\$57,576
Amount expended	\$60,993

The cities of Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Albany, Washington, Baltimore, Newark, and Providence, rank next in point of distress calling for active zeal on the part of the Society. In the year 1878 the ravages caused by the yellow fever in the Southern States bordering on the Mississippi River, aroused the active sympathy of all the Conferences under the Superior Council of New York, and its appeal for aid was generously responded to even by the Conferences in Ireland. The Conferences in the United States contributed \$4,100 and those in Ireland sent through the Superior Council of Dublin \$1,000. Little did our generous brethren in Ireland think at that time how sorely pressed they would be to assist the distress in their own country the succeeding year, but their American brethren did not forget them, and in the year 1878 the Particular Council of New York remitted to that of Dublin \$7,700.

1833—1883
Golden Jubilee

The next event of note in the life of the Society was the celebration of its Golden Jubilee, that is to say, the fiftieth year of its

establishment in Paris. Upon the invitation of the Council General in Paris the Superior Council of New York issued a circular letter to all the Councils and Conferences under its jurisdiction, calling their attention to this fact and asking them to join in this celebration each in its own locality, conforming as nearly as possible with the exercises to be followed in Paris. The request was unanimously acceded to, and no doubt the memory of this celebration will be lasting in the minds of all the Vincentians in the United States.

With this year, 1883, closes this brief notice of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the United States under the jurisdiction of the Superior Council of New York. The foregoing statistics have shown its gradual growth from one Conference in New York City to two hundred and fifty-four Conferences, giving the following results in 1883:

Number of Conferences	254
Number of Conferences reporting.....	235
Number of active members on rolls.....	5,430
Number of families visited and relieved.....	12,121
Number of visits made to these families.....	125,962
Number of boys attending Sunday-schools where mem- bers assist in teaching.....	41,722
Amount collected and contributed by members.....	\$127,178
Amount expended on families in food, fuel, clothing, tuition, etc.	\$127,502

Of this result the share of New York City Conferences is found to be as follows:

Number of Conferences.....	46
Number of active members.....	1,065
Number of families visited and relieved.....	5,276
Number of visits made to these families.....	47,781
Number of boys in Sunday-schools where members as- sist in teaching.....	12,741
Receipts from all sources.....	\$42,769
Expenditures	\$44,488

It is certainly a sad thought that our country, yet so young, should already suffer from so much poverty, and should show so many people in need of help, but with God's never failing assistance let us hope that the Society of St. Vincent de Paul will continue true to its rules and to its mission of love and charity in behalf of the needy.

STATISTICAL NOTICE ON THE SOCIETY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL FOR
 TWENTY YEARS, 1864—1883 INCLUSIVE.

Years	Confer- ences regu- larly re- ported	Confer- ences Re- porting	Particu- lar Confer- ences	Active Members	Families Relieved	Visits by Members to Families Relieved	Mem- bers teach- ing in Sunday Schools	Boys Attending Sunday Schools	Money Contrib- uted and Collected by Members	Money Expended in Food, Fuel, Clothing and Tu- ition in Families relieved	REMARKS
1846 to 1863	1 } No regular statistics of the condition of the Conferences were kept on record										
1864	74	64	9	3,529	4,871	71,812	450	21,141	\$ 68,786.00	\$ 61,362.00	Conferences 10 Not Reporting
1865	83	75	10	3,708	4,555	92,673	545	22,215	65,384.00	71,097.00	8 "
1866	92	85	11	3,788	5,708	103,412	682	30,895	84,893.00	81,379.00	7 "
1867	95	87	11	3,833	5,808	96,381	519	30,746	86,200.00	85,855.00	8 "
1868	132	123	11	4,600	7,971	107,490	632	32,206	108,871.00	101,381.00	" "
1869	135	127	12	5,123	6,974	95,814	730	32,071	101,058.00	93,885.00	" "
1870	144	139	13	5,341	6,468	101,179	752	32,108	99,881.00	105,046.00	" "
1871	164	153	15	5,881	7,275	103,491	776	34,411	105,001.00	101,262.00	" "
1872	168	153	16	5,260	7,058	114,447	652	32,766	106,195.00	104,440.00	" "
1873	174	155	16	5,336	8,608	121,972	591	33,566	128,662.00	123,219.00	" "
1874	186	174	16	5,716	10,969	145,707	643	39,020	157,305.00	154,877.00	" "
1875	192	178	16	5,446	12,087	152,883	652	36,306	151,891.00	151,454.00	" "
1876	204	192	15	5,622	14,075	172,433	617	37,799	154,706.00	157,303.00	" "
1877	224	213	15	5,739	16,845	194,154	631	42,438	159,499.00	162,856.00	" "
1878	238	223	15	6,164	15,020	153,633	663	36,644	132,711.00	129,534.00	" "
1879	249	231	16	6,078	14,153	155,138	622	47,677	130,413.00	123,672.00	" "
1880	250	227	17	5,615	10,932	129,535	549	47,443	108,861.00	112,257.00	" "
1881	249	230	17	5,382	10,360	126,993	506	44,705	127,707.00	118,964.00	" "
1882	251	239	18	5,412	9,936	128,497	416	38,921	124,327.00	127,227.00	" "
1883	254	235	18	5,430	12,121	125,962	466	41,722	127,178.00	127,502.00	" "
20 years life of 235 Conferences										\$2,329,529.00	\$2,294,572.00
Average No.										9,587	2,493,636

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA.

SINCE the establishment of the hierarchy somewhat more than a hundred years ago there are many notable things to chronicle in the extraordinary progress of the Catholic Church within the limits of the United States. Where there was but one bishop then, ruling over a handful of priests and a flock which was an almost negligible part of the new born nation's population, now there are well nigh an hundred mitred shepherds, thousands of priests and millions of Catholics, alert, resourceful, claiming and wielding their full share in the life of the Republic. In all departments of progress Catholics from the beginning have made substantial contributions. Now, with their steady growth in numbers and the multiplication of educational opportunities, they are having no inconsiderable part in the literary output of the country. As a manifestation of this it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the publication this year of the Catholic Encyclopedia, the first volume of which lies before us as we write. It is a far cry from Mathew Carey's quarto Bible of 1790 to the ambitious programme of the Catholic Encyclopedia. The interval to be sure has not been without its notable products of Catholic authorship, but it is not too much to say that the appearance of the work we are noticing marks a distinct epoch in the Catholic history of our country. An enterprise of this sort, conceived, fostered, and financed in the United States, requiring for its successful conduct the drafting of scholars and specialists such as are found in the list of editors and contributors seems to spell progress in a very measurable degree for the Catholic body in this country. When the project was first announced, high hopes were entertained by those who thought the time was ripe for such a presentation of the Catholic cause to the English-speaking world. It is immensely more than a conventional

judgment to say these hopes have been most fully realized with the coming out of the first volume. The qualities of up-to-date scholarship, painstaking and minute research, and fearless and impartial statement, without which works of this kind cannot claim any authority, are everywhere conspicuous in the volume. Catholic scholars of unquestioned standing in all parts of the world have been laid under contribution for the making of the book. Hence whilst its origin and promotion are American its character is in an important sense international. The articles on Alaska, Albany, Arizona, and America will doubtless possess a more than ordinary interest for the readers of *Records and Studies*. Where there is so much that is deserving of unstinted praise, it will still perhaps not be deemed invidious to point out that an undue amount of space has here and there been given to the accounts of persons with but little title to be commemorated in a work of this sort. The paper, type, and binding are such as to gladden the eye of even the most finicky book-collector and the illustrations and maps are notable triumphs of artistic reproduction. If in the subsequent volumes the performance is commensurate with the promise of the first there is no doubt that the Encyclopedia will prove not only an armory of incalculable resource to the Catholic world, but also an achievement of far-reaching consequence in the Catholic history of the United States.

JOSEPH F. DELANY.

[These lines, which are intended as an historical record, rather than a criticism, would not be complete without the statement that the Catholic Encyclopedia has met with the warmest welcome by the critics, not only of America, but also of England and we may add of Germany. It is no exaggeration to say that the work has been noticed by more than hundreds of journals, not only Catholic but also non-Catholic. Our reviews, like the Catholic Quarterly, the Ecclesiastical, the New York Review, and Magazines, such as the Catholic World, as well as the host of Catholic weeklies, without exception received the volume with favor, not to say enthusiasm. The great New York dailies, like the Times and the Herald, were equally pro-

nounced in their recognition, and it is but just to say that the New York Churchman and the Outlook as well as other critical papers, denominational and undenominational, gave it a friendly reception.

The editors may well be proud of the warm recognition of their scholarship and management to be found in the London Tablet and the Month, and the London Times, while maintaining its well known attitude that nothing Catholic can be scientific, declares that the Encyclopedia is as scientific as anything Catholic can be, and lavishes on the work many well-deserved compliments.

We cannot close this article without referring to the long and scholarly notice contained in that veteran critical review, the Literarische Handweiser of Münster in Westphalia. How favorable was the impression made on its critic may be inferred from his statement that in some respects our American Encyclopedia is fuller and better than even Herder's Kirchenlexikon of which Germany and the Catholic world in general are so justly proud.—Editors.]

IRELAND UNDER ENGLISH RULE.

A PLEA FOR THE PLAINTIFF BY THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

AN over-critical person having read this work might quarrel with its subsidiary title. In the prosecution of the indictment which the centuries have drawn against English rule in Ireland, Dr. Emmet has in all conscience presented an overwhelmingly telling array of facts: But, nevertheless, his impeachment, vehement and relentless as it is, is by no means the mere *ex parte* statement which at times, it is taken for granted, must constitute the plea for the plaintiff. There is throughout the work a fearless appeal to authorities not to be suspected of bias in favor of Ireland; a fair-minded examination of clashing contentions, and, to a considerable degree, a certain poise which goes far to invest it with the deliberation of a judicial utterance rather than with the eager partisanship of an attorney's brief. Dr. Emmet has done a conspicuously valuable service for that part of the English-speaking public to which he chiefly addresses himself. It is not wonderful that he should have found it difficult to discover a publisher without special claim to Irish sympathies willing to undertake the task of printing the book. In recent years we have been treated to some extraordinary exhibitions of claptrap about the *entente cordiale* or shall we say, alliance which ought to prevail between England and America. The gentlemen who have indulged in such fervid after-dinner rhetoric about the kinship of the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, their common stock, common language, common civilization, and common, very common religion, would assuredly have given but a sorry welcome to a work whose purpose was to impugn the validity of England's canonization in the calendar of civic holiness.

The thesis of the author is that Ireland has never prospered

under English domination, and that this is because of English misrule. For this purpose he has drawn heavily upon the industrial, commercial and political history of the Green Isle, gathering the evidence for the counts in his accusation for the most part from sources hardly to be described as Irish. The result is a record of oppression which for shameless duplicity, truculent savagery, and consistent treachery, has hardly been equalled in the dealings of one civilized nation with another. The reader, in accordance with his already formed opinions on the subject or at any rate in response to his sympathies, may perhaps deem the manner of the writer's arraignment unduly severe, but he will not be able to escape the conviction that its matter is irrefutable. The theme, to be sure, is a well-worn one, but for those who require from the historian something more than the mere sententious recounting of facts, it is an always absorbingly interesting and profoundly pathetic story. In a signal way it furnishes proof that one nation may be ethnologically incompetent to govern another. It shows that there may be on the part of the rulers so little community of interest or tradition, so little oneness of intellectual vision or sympathy of moral measurement with the ruled, that no government is possible but that of a proconsul in a conquered province. In the attempt to lord it over the Irish Celt, the Saxon's power of organization became brutality, his wisdom degenerated into craft, his reverence was converted into sacrilege, his progress was another name for rapacity, his veneration for law gave the color of excuse for tyranny. Dr. Emmet in the picture he has painted for us, has not, it is true, spared his colors, but one can scarcely do otherwise if he is to present a truthful account of the spoliation and persecution which is almost, *ex integro*, the story of English sway in Ireland.

The single bright spot in the canvas is the period of eighteen years or so before the passage of the Act of Union. During that time the Irish Parliament had reclaimed and was exercising its independence, and the Irish people, taking advantage of this breathing space, bade fair to become prosperous and contented. Then came the Union, jammed through by means of

the most shocking bribery, and the door was closed again upon the nation's hopes. We who are glad and proud to remember what important contributions Irish exiles have made toward the upbuilding and preservation of the American Republic have a special indebtedness to Dr. Emmet. Irish blood has flowed so freely and Irish genius been employed so prodigally in the creation and maintenance of American liberties that we can not but be sensible of a very real interest in the sad history of a land to which we are under such particular obligations. Of course we can all yearn for that time when

"The common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

But meantime, in homage to historic justice, all fair-minded men as well as those of Irish blood will be grateful to Dr. Emmet for this work—"lest we forget."

JOSEPH F. DELANY.

THE DIOCESE OF NEW YORK IN 1830.

A LETTER FROM RIGHT REV. JOHN DUBOIS, D.D., BISHOP OF
NEW YORK, TO REV. ———, SECRETARY OF THE
ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE
FAITH, LYONS.

TRANSLATED BY JOHN E. CAHALAN, A.M.

Rome, March 16, 1830.

SIR:

I avail myself of a few moments of leisure at my disposal in Rome in order to furnish you with further information in regard to my diocese, which I could but hastily describe on my visit to Lyons, where the hearty welcome which I received reminded me of the charity of the primitive Church. I have read with much interest the *Annals* of the Association, a copy of which was sent to me by the editor. I was sorry to find no mention in it of the diocese of New York, one of the most important of the New World, and one of the most worthy to engage the sympathy of an Association so zealously devoted to the extension of the kingdom of Jesus Christ. It is certainly not the fault of the Association, which, even before I was aware of its existence and of the immense service which divine Providence is accomplishing through its agency, kindly sent me assistance upon the recommendation of the venerable Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda, into whose fatherly heart alone I had poured my woes, my troubles, and the endless difficulties which I had to overcome. Compelled at once to fill the office of bishop, priest, and catechist, if I ever absented myself for a few days from my city flock, it was but to run after those of my lambs which were scattered throughout the rest of my vast diocese. The journeying over a thousand leagues, or three thousand miles, in

order to visit them, was the only relaxation that I had to comfort me for the weariness of the confessional and my daily attendance on the sick; but alas! the weariness of the body is nothing in comparison to the anguish of mind which I experienced at sight of the endless number of neglected souls that I met on my way, who begged me for pastors, and to whom I could respond only with tears. So much occupation and labor prevented me from reading of what was taking place in Europe. It is from you, Sir, that I learned of the establishment of the Association, and of the share which it had condescended to give me in its benefits. This news came to relieve my sad feelings and to restore my courage, which had vanished on beholding the difficulties that were presented and my inability to meet them.

In order to give you an idea of my position, I must go back a step. I was at the head of the seminary at Emmitsburg, which I had founded and built, first of wood, and a second time in stone, (out of my savings); then this building having been burned down through an accident which no human prudence could have obviated, I was obliged to rebuild a third time. On that occasion I became indebted to the Association for a donation, the source of which I did not know; for Rev. Father Bruté, who had solicited it and had brought it to me, left me without any information on that point. The Emmitsburg Seminary had received before my eyes so many blessings during seventeen years, that I was very much attached to it, and my whole ambition was to devote to it the few years of my life yet remaining. But after the death of Mgr. Connolly, the second bishop of New York, the Holy Father determined to impose on me the heavy responsibility of that immense diocese. It was extremely hard for me to give up my seminary. The feeling of my unworthiness and of my weakness rendered obedience harder still. However, it was necessary to submit to the authority of God which made itself apparent through all the channels which he has established in his Church for our guidance. On the Sunday before All Saints' Day, in the year 1826, I was consecrated in the Metropolitan Church of Balti-

more, by the Ven. Bishop Maréchal, in the midst of a vast assemblage of my old students, who sought to pay this last mark of devotion to their old Father. My ring and pectoral cross were the gift of the venerable Mr. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, one of those old patriarchs who are heart and soul devoted to our holy religion, and who use their wealth chiefly to do good. On All Saints' Day I took possession of my See. How deeply was my heart impressed at the sight of the immense throng that filled the Cathedral. I presume the number of the faithful present exceeded four thousand, and they were only the representatives of one hundred and fifty thousand others who were not present. How could I help being moved in thinking of that immense number of Protestants who lived within my diocese, outside the pale of the Church, and whom Jesus Christ desired that I should lead to Him, in order that there should be "but one flock and one shepherd."

Sensibly impressed with my own nothingness, yet full of confidence in the power of the Holy Ghost, I put my hand to the work. In what a pitiable condition I found this poor diocese when I began to examine it! There are at least thirty-five thousand Catholics in the city of New York, and probably one hundred and fifty thousand throughout the rest of the diocese: I say "probably," yet it may be that the number is still greater. In all the sections where I send my missionaries, or which I visit personally, I find ten times as many Catholics as I expected. Seven hundred are found where I understood there were but fifty or sixty; eleven hundred, where I was told to look for two hundred.

To accommodate this multitude there were but three churches in New York City at the time of my arrival, St. Peter's, which was the first established in this city, was built in great part through the bounty of their Royal Majesties of France and Spain.¹ The cathedral was built at the time the

¹ The Rector of St. Peter's in 1826 was Very Rev. John Power, V. G. The active, personal interest taken by Charles III. of Spain in the erection of St. Peter's, the first of the Catholic churches of New York, is generally conceded. But there seems to be no evidence that

See of New York was founded,² but only by the most incredible exertions of the Catholic population assisted by a certain number of good French people whom the Revolution had cast upon those shores. Unfortunately for religion, the greater part of these good French people returned to France after the Restoration. The edifice is not yet completed; it is burdened with a debt of \$24,000, and is bare of decoration, so indispensable to a temple of religion.

The third church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was bought from the Presbyterians.³ Since my arrival in New York I have purchased another which belonged to the Anglicans.⁴

Louis XVI. of France had any direct share in the good work. It is true, however, that the French Consul-General, Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur, was accounted a benefactor. The parish was organized under the pastorate of Rev. Father Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, and the cornerstone of the first church was laid by the Spanish Ambassador, Don Diego de Gardoqui. According to the tablet which the present pastor, Rt. Rev. Mgr. James H. McGean, has caused to be placed in the sanctuary of St. Peter's, the parish was incorporated June 10, 1785, the cornerstone of the first edifice was laid Wednesday, October 5, 1785, and the church was opened, and the first Mass was said in it on the Feast of St. Charles Borromeo (November 4) in the year 1786, by the pastor, Rev. Father Nugent.

² St. Patrick's Cathedral, located "on Prince Street, between the Broadway and Bowery road." The cornerstone was laid Thursday, June 8, 1809, by Rev. Anthony Kohlman, S.J., pastor of St. Peter's, and Vicar-General, *sede vacante*, of the diocese of New York. The Cathedral was consecrated by Rt. Rev. Bishop Cheverus of Boston on May 4, 1815 (Ascension Day). The Rector in 1826 was Rev. T. C. Levins.

³ St. Mary's, then in Sheriff Street, near Broome, where it was first opened May 14, 1826, under the pastorate of Rev. Father Hatton Walsh, O.S.A.

⁴ Christ Church; then located in Ann Street, near William Street, the pastor being Rev. Felix Francisco José María de la Concepción Varela y Morales. Rev. Father Varela had organized the parish and purchased the first church property in Ann Street in 1827. The building becoming insecure, the property was sold in 1833, and the proceeds employed in acquiring the present Church of St. James in James Street for the accommodation of a portion of the Ann Street congregation. To meet the wants of the others, a Presbyterian church was bought (at the personal expense of Rev. Father Varela) at No. 45 Chambers Street, opposite the City Hall Park. This church was dedicated March 31, 1836 and was named the Church of the Transfiguration. But as neither

I paid \$20,000 for it, which sum was loaned to me by a zealous Spaniard. I shall pay back this sum out of the pew rent.

But what signify these four churches for a Catholic population of at least thirty-five thousand souls, not to mention the Protestants who venture to attend, and whom it would never do to exclude, since when they come we have a chance to teach them the truth. Six churches more would be necessary, but alas! the funds are lacking, and the population, composed chiefly of poor immigrants, cannot stand the cost. How much better off are the Protestants than the children of light! They possess over seventy houses of worship. I cannot in this short letter explain the cause of this poverty among the Catholics of New York. Let it suffice to say that the Penal Laws of England directed against Catholics having been in force up to the time of the American Revolution, all property of any value was in the possession of Protestants when the Catholics came to New York, and that it will be only after a considerable time that they will become relatively independent. If meanwhile they are left to themselves they will lose the Faith, and the resources which they may gather by their industry, instead of being useful for religion, will become a fruitful aid to error.

Finding myself unable to obtain the means to build a church

St. James' nor the Transfiguration was ready for occupancy until at least two years after the abandonment of Christ Church, it is probable that the congregation kept together, and that a suitable place for religious services was secured near the original building. This conjecture seems to be supported by the New York City directories of the time. For in the directory of 1834-5, the church address is given, for the first time, at No. 45 Ann Street. It is given at the same address, but for the last time, in the directory of 1835-6, Rev. Fathers Varela and Schneller being mentioned as the priests in charge. Rev. Father Schneller became the first pastor of St. James', and Rev. Father Varela ceased to be the pastor of Christ Church and became pastor of the Transfiguration in Chambers Street. He held that charge until his death on February 18, 1853. Early in that year the Chambers Street property was sold, and out of the proceeds, the sum of thirty thousand dollars was applied to the purchase (April 30, 1853) of Zion Church, "at the corner of Mott and Cross Streets," for a new Church of the Transfiguration. Rev. Father Varela was a native of Cuba, and had at one time represented that country in the Spanish Cortes.

in a certain suburb where the Catholic population is quite large and too distant from other churches to be able to attend them, I was obliged to rent at \$200 a year a large hall capable of holding seven hundred or eight hundred people. It is an additional burden, falling entirely on myself, poor as I am; but what would I not do to save the souls confided to my care!¹⁵

If churches are wanting in New York City, how much more are they missed in the rest of the diocese! In a territory which has an area of 30,352,000 acres, I have but nine churches worthy of the name, and these are from two to three hundred miles apart.¹⁶ In addition there are a few small chapels in private houses. Two churches had become too small, and I was compelled to replace them with others more commodious, and to advance the money for the purpose. Just here I may explain how I used the two sums of money which the Association was kind enough to allow me in the years 1828 and 1829. They were not sufficient to warrant me in building a seminary, without which religion can never be solidly established in the diocese. A part of those funds, however, was used to pay off the debt of a church in Newark, a little town in New Jersey belonging to my diocese, and situated about nine miles from New York. This church was about to be sold to satisfy a mortgage. Another part of the money was used to aid the Catholics in the city of Albany, the capital of the State, to build a church in place of their little chapel, which would not hold a third of the congregation. Feeling confident that these two congregations will be able to repay me by degrees, I thought it better to advance the moneys merely as a loan. When these two sums are refunded I shall apply them to the

¹⁵ Allusion is here made to the congregation at the suburb then known as Greenwich Village, where the parish of St. Joseph was subsequently established.

¹⁶ Among those indicated were probably the following: St. Mary's, Albany; St. Peter's, Troy, Rev. John Shanahan, pastor; St. John's, Utica, Rev. Hatton Walsh, pastor; St. Patrick's, Rochester, Rev. Patrick Kelly, pastor; St. John's, Newark, Rev. Gregory Bryan Pardow, pastor; St. James', Brooklyn; St. James', Carthage; and the church at Paterson built in 1821 by Rev. Richard Bulger.

most urgent needs of my diocese, and above all to the establishment of the seminary.

Had I been unable to redeem the Newark church, I would have had the sorrow of beholding a Catholic temple become a Protestant place of worship. Moreover, the congregation would have been scattered, whereas at present I have the great joy of seeing it prosper and grow stronger day by day. As to Albany, the poor Catholics of that city would never have ventured on the building of their church if I had not given the first assistance. They are now making extraordinary efforts to complete the building, and even Protestants perceiving their zeal, have come forward to assist them. I must proceed in this same manner in order to provide the many churches needed throughout the diocese.

You will then readily comprehend, Sir, how greatly my dear flock and I admire the noble spirit which animates the excellent Association without whose help everything would have remained as it was. God knows that we cherish these noble benefactors, remembering them especially before the altar where the divine Victim is offered up, and that we give them a share in all our prayers and in the good works which divine Providence enables us to accomplish.

In the visitation that I made through a part of my diocese before leaving for Europe, I covered three thousand miles or a thousand leagues alone, because I could not afford the expense of taking a priest with me, and I heard more than two thousand confessions. At Buffalo, near Niagara Falls, where a worthy Frenchman had given me a splendid plot for a church, I found seven or eight hundred Catholics comprising French-Canadians, Swiss, Irish and Germans, in place of the fifty or sixty which I had been told I should meet there. Although I do not understand German, I was compelled to hear the confessions of more than two hundred Swiss, who understood neither English nor French. I accomplished it by means of interpreters; but in such a way that the interpreters themselves understood nothing about the confessions of these poor people. It was a method long ago forced on me by necessity in the missions when I would

meet foreigners or Indians whose language I did not understand. These good souls were intensely delighted to be able to receive the Sacraments. I celebrated High Mass in the courthouse, in the presence of over eight hundred people, Protestants and Catholics. An altar had been erected on the bench usually occupied by the judges. The presence of a bishop, the celebration of Mass, the large number of communicants, the beauty and solemnity of the music, the administration of Baptism, which I conferred on thirty or forty persons, made a profound impression upon all. What particularly affected everybody was the consecration of the ground set apart for the building of the church⁷ and seminary. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the hour I had fixed for this ceremony to begin, I found those excellent people, men, women, and children, gathered in the courthouse, where I robed myself in the pontifical vestments. Without any instructions from me, they arranged themselves four abreast to march from there to the cemetery which is about a mile and a half away. Four old white-headed men began the rosary aloud in German. The French, English and Germans present recited the second part of the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* in their own language. Each side of the road was lined with the inhabitants of the town drawn together by this ceremony. The good order and respect, as well as the devotion that shone on all these countenances, especially on those of the four elders who led the procession, afforded a wonderful sight to the Protestant multitude present. When the head of the procession reached the cemetery the end had hardly left the courthouse. Upon arriving at the cemetery these good Swiss sang the psalms and litanies specified in the ritual for the blessing of the cemetery, and it was after sundown when we separated. On the following day, the day appointed for my departure, several Catholics who had been unaware of my presence until informed of it by those who had taken part in the ceremonies, came to visit me. I had to hear more confessions, to baptize a number of children, and to regularize certain marriages.

⁷ The Church of St. Louis.

Excuse these details, Sir, "Out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh."

I was forced to tear myself away from this interesting mission, in order to go to another, of a different character, but which also had a claim on my care. I had been told that not far from the Indian village called St. Regis, through the centre of which passes the boundary-line dividing lower Canada from the State of New York, there existed an Irish settlement that begged for the erection of a church and for a priest to attend it. I knew I was unable to give them a priest; but I was in hopes of having their spiritual wants attended to by the missionary who has charge of my Indians, or at least of sending one to visit them from time to time. To reach there I had to travel more than three hundred miles. Yet I thought I would avail myself of the occasion to visit the good Indians who were so eagerly awaiting my coming.

A misunderstanding had arisen between the portion of the town under the English jurisdiction and that portion which is within the territory of the United States. Those who lived on the American side wanted to hang out the United States flag, in front of the church, beside the Union Jack. The church being situated on the Canadian side, those who belonged to that government were opposed to the suggestion, and, as a matter of fact, could not and did not permit it. My Indians, vexed at this refusal, were awaiting my arrival to authorize them to build a church and to give them a pastor of their own. They did not fail to present their demand. I realized to what peril such a step would expose them, and I had recourse to the well-known illustration of the bundle of sticks which may be easily broken when separated, but which, bound together, resist the most powerful efforts to break them. I pointed out that their conduct might afford the two governments a ready pretext to take possession of their land, and to drive them back to the forest where they would be deprived of all intercourse with their white Catholic brethren, but that their rights would be always respected if they remained united and numerous. They felt the truth of my remarks, and I had the great fortune to

reconcile them. I recall, especially, a touching remark made by one of the old chieftains. "Ah! Father," said he, "we are no longer Christians, since we lack charity." I celebrated holy Mass the next day assisted by a dozen young Indians who made surplices for themselves out of blankets. The singing, which is practically the Gregorian chant, although the words are Indian, was very touching. The music is as adaptable to that language as to any other. They learned it from the Jesuits who are still held in great veneration by them, and they pass the chant along from generation to generation. I confirmed quite a number of them, after having given them Holy Communion.

From there I proceeded to the Irish settlement which I found to number six hundred souls. I took steps to secure a place for the erection of a church and I placed them meanwhile under the care of the Indian missionary, who speaks a little English. I should never get through if I began to mention all the aggregations of people I found scattered along the lakes and the banks of the St. Lawrence River. Fully one half of the residents of these villages are French-Canadians, who crossed over to settle on the New York side. These mixed assemblages are particularly hard to manage since the priest must speak both English and French and at times German also. The French, apart from their poverty, which prevents them from giving much help to the Church, have a disinclination to give anything, since they were accustomed to receive everything gratis in Canada, where Church and clergy are supported by taxation.

But if I had occasion to lament the want of churches, vestments, chalices, how much more deeply I felt the need of spiritual helpers. Upon reaching New York, I found not more than four or five active missionaries. What vast good might be accomplished by devoted and disinterested priests among these thousands of poor Catholics thus forsaken and exposed to the danger of ignorance and indifference and to the proselytism of the sects that beset them! If the clergy were numerous enough in New York to open a university and apply themselves to advanced studies, religion would reap an immense

benefit; then we might battle successfully against false philosophers and heretics and acquire weapons against them in the very sciences they misuse to mislead themselves and others. English is the language of the country; yet up to the present time Ireland has had to furnish the clergy; and as the bishops in that country have not a superabundance of priests how can we hope that they will continue to allow truly apostolic men to depart, when they need them themselves?

What then may be done to remedy this painful want? There is no other means than the founding of a seminary where we may train up a national clergy. This then is the object dearest to my heart. It is for this that I have temporarily abandoned my dear flock, to beg the assistance of our European brethren, and to cry out to them that the little children in tears "beg the bread of the word," and that there is "nobody to break it for them." By incessant entreaties I have succeeded in increasing the number of my co-workers to eighteen; but what are those few among so many thousands of souls who are lost every day for want of help? All our time is taken up in administering the Sacraments, and even then we do not accomplish everything. Conversions go on, the divine Will seeming to operate not only through feeble agents, but even without them. The hand of God is always so clearly indicated that it is impossible not to recognize it.

The very week before I left New York I had the consolation of receiving two Protestants into the bosom of the Church. The religious pomp of our ceremonies touches the heart of the most biased of Protestants. It has even been noticed that the erection of the cathedral, which is a fine Gothic building, has done much to win public esteem for the Catholics of New York. So long as we had only small churches like the Methodist meeting-houses, the mass of the people who had never been out of the country, and who knew nothing of the condition of Catholicity in Europe, looked upon us Catholics as a poor and despised class, and, in spite of their republican ideas, many of them scorned attending what they considered as resorts of the rabble. The solemnity of our religion would be more effective still if it

were as it ought to be; the cathedral is absolutely without complete sets of vestments. I have but one suitable mitre and one wooden crosier; but I could never think of purchasing vestments when the cathedral is still burdened with a debt of \$24,000 (about 125,000 francs).

I would need to lengthen the cathedral about forty feet, in order to proportion it to the width, and to build two sacristies, the upper part of which would accommodate the children; for the rising generation is the special object of my dearest hope. Thanks to the good Sisters of Charity whom I sent from Emmitsburg to New York some years ago,^{*} over seventy little boys and nearly thirty girls are cared for in a home, and are taught by them. The unselfish zeal of these nuns, their more-than-motherly tenderness to the children entrusted to them, the cleanliness, I would say almost the elegant plainness which they preserve both in their schools and in their home, have gone very far towards lessening the prejudice of Protestants. I have reason to believe that once the girls are grown up and trained in the home, they will preserve the principles of religion with which they have been inspired. Would to God that I had the same hope for my poor boys; but unfortunately I can see only troublesome times ahead for them. They have no other choice than to attend the public schools, where the name of religion, and still more its teaching, is prohibited; or to go to the only school which the trustees of the cathedral have provided; but where very often the master, selected by the majority vote of men nominally Christians, is himself without religion and altogether indifferent about it. How much I would desire to have the Christian Brothers. Certain young Irishmen, who have an organization very similar to that of the Christian Brothers, offered themselves to me; but I could not avail myself of their services. They volunteered to teach the children without compensation by conducting a pay school with the free school, so that the revenue of the one might help to

^{*} On June 20, 1817, the Sisters of Charity, three in number, Sisters Rose White, Cecilia O'Conway, and Felicitas Brady, reached New York. They opened a home in a small wooden building in Prince street.

keep up the other. All that they needed was a house for their novitiate and principal school. They also asked to be placed under the exclusive jurisdiction of the bishop, so as not to be subject to the caprice of rulers who might dismiss them when they would become old and worn out by teaching, and fill their places with favorites having no religion. This request was refused. Our liberal Americans were willing enough to contribute towards the purchase of a house, but upon the condition that they should have control over the property and over the society, an arrangement which would have placed all Catholic education in the hands of those who, irreligious themselves, would continue the abuses that already prevailed in the cathedral school. Hence I was forced to refuse a gift joined to a condition so unsatisfactory.

How much more I might say on the subject of my Indian tribes, whom heresy has for a long time past corrupted or, in better words, has cajoled with the semblance of religion! They might, however, still be brought back to the true faith through the influence of the good tribe of St. Regis. This plan would be all the easier to accomplish as the Protestants have taught the Indians only those hymns which draw together the worst characters in the neighborhood. Nor will I expatiate on all those Catholic settlements scattered broadcast over my diocese, and which clamor for religious assistance; nor again on the many counties that I have not yet visited and where, I am told, I shall find thousands of Catholics; nor will I dwell on the need I have of a hospital in New York, where a number of the emigrants who daily arrive and suffer for want of attention might regain both corporal and spiritual health. These sick people are huddled together in the only hospital available,* which is three miles distant from the city, and is administered by Protestants. In order to provide for the spiritual wants of more than seven hundred Catholic sick who are in that institution, and who had previously been unavoidably neglected, I had to share my loaf with two priests whom I appointed to

* Bellevue Hospital is probably the hospital to which reference is made.

take care of them. Nor can I do more than mention the great number of widows and orphans left in the city by poor emigrants who died soon after their arrival.

All these are matters of direful importance; yet before all I must establish an apostolic nursery, and it is by no means easy to acquire a seminary in New York, where land costs \$10,000 or \$12,000 an acre. My idea is to unite a college with the seminary, as I did so happily in the Baltimore diocese, so as to defray the expenses of the seminary out of the income of the college. I shall have very little difficulty in starting this establishment, and when begun it will be self-sustaining. Apart from the benefit to the Church, what immense advantages will the college not present in the way of Catholic education in a country where there is no alternative for the education of the young but to send them to England with its many temptations, or to place them in colleges where the lack of discipline is the smallest drawback. How sorry I have felt when passing near Princeton College, one of the foremost institutions in the United States, to behold boys of from ten to fourteen years of age smoking cigars at the door of the hotels where they reside, and to find out that quite as little restraint was placed on their drinking propensities as on this habit of smoking, so injurious to those of their age. As to Harvard, a still more notable institution, it is enough to remark that, in addition to this unbridled license as enjoyed by the scholars at Princeton, the expenses are so high that boys are discontented unless they can dispose of \$1500 a year.

You see then, Sir, by this account how great are my needs. I am aware that the Association for the Propagation of the Faith extends its hand liberally—that, in its immense charity, it takes in the whole world. But I would point to all those souls which are being lost, and I would say to you, copying St. Vincent de Paul in his peculiar address to the Sisters of Charity who were getting discouraged at sight of the immense number of orphan children, “Cease for a moment to be fathers and become our judges. Pronounce the judgment. If you help they will live, if you cast them off they will die. Decide!”

Oh! yes, France is undoubtedly the eldest daughter, I was going to say the foster-mother, of the Church. God will pay her back a hundred-fold the blessings which she bestows on us so abundantly.

St. Gregory, on his death-bed, inquired how many unbelievers remained in his cathedral city. "Seventeen," was the answer. "God be praised!" replied the great saint, "it is exactly the number of faithful I found here on taking possession." Such a triumph can be the reward of no less a saint than St. Gregory; but if I can die with the blessed satisfaction of having preserved the faithful who have been placed in my charge, perhaps even of having added to the number, or at the least of having imparted a stimulus to this immense body, I shall die in peace.

Excuse me, Sir, for having intruded upon you so long. I have jotted down hastily what my heart has dictated. I have appealed to you on behalf of my spiritual children; you will not blame me for taking a fatherly interest in them.

Dispose of this letter as you may judge proper. Use portions of it only, if you think fit. Excuse also the selfishness which may seem to permeate my affections. Alas! if you perceive the longing that I have to help my flock, you will also perceive that I have really accomplished nothing so far, and that I have many reasons to feel humbled, and to regret that so serious a responsibility should have been placed on shoulders so frail as mine.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration and heartfelt gratitude,

Yours, etc.,

JOHN, *Bishop of New York.*

NECROLOGY.

THE REV. FREDERIC WILLIAM WAYRICH.

By REV. HENRY A. BRANN, D.D.

This talented clergyman and eloquent pulpit orator, who was a zealous member of the Catholic Historical Society, was born on August 19, 1834, in the village of Hüttigweiler in the parish of Illingen in the diocese of Trier, in the Rhine province of the old kingdom of Prussia. He was baptized on the same day by the parish priest of Illingen. Thus reads the baptismal record: "In the year of Our Lord 1834 on the 19th of August was born and on the same day was re-born Frederic William, legitimate son of Francis Wayrich and Elizabeth Bermann, his wife, in Hüttigweiler; his godparents being Frederic William III., King of the Prussians, and Anna Maria Kessler of Hüttigweiler.

"Signed,

"HELLEBRAND,

"*Pastor.*"

Father Wayrich in a note gives the reason for the name which he received in baptism. As he was the seventh son, and consequently entitled to certain privileges by a custom in the Prussian kingdom, he was named after the reigning King Frederic William III., who was his godfather by proxy.

In the early forties of the last century he came with his parents to America, who settled near the old fortress of the German Catholicity of New York City, the Redemptorist Church in East Third Street. He attended the parochial school attached to the church for some years and made his First Communion there on April 26, 1846. As he was bright, intellectual, and a good singer, he became a favorite altar boy among the Redemptorists, so that one of them began to teach him Latin, which he learned rapidly, and he became afterwards

an excellent Latin scholar. He was confirmed on September 12, 1847, by Bishop, afterwards Archbishop Hughes of New York. The fostering care of the good Redemptorists developed a vocation for their Congregation in young Wayrich, so that he entered their novitiate in Maryland where he was one of their best students, devoting himself arduously to the acquisition of the classics and of the theological sciences. On October 6, 1855, he received the first tonsure and the four minor orders in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Cumberland, Md., from the hands of the then Archbishop of Baltimore, the Most Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, D.D. In the same place, on April 30, 1857, he was ordained subdeacon, and on May 1st of the same year he was elevated to the diaconship by the saintly Bishop of Philadelphia, Pa., John N. Neumann. On May 29, 1858, the Archbishop who had given him the first tonsure ordained him priest in the Church of St. Alphonsus, Baltimore. He came to New York to sing his first solemn Mass surrounded by his family and numerous friends in the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer on June 6, 1858.

On September 1, 1858, he was appointed professor of philosophy in the house of studies of the Redemptorists at Cumberland, and continued to teach that fundamental science of all scholars, particularly of theologians and preachers, until 1861. Then he was sent out to the battlefield of the missions. For nine years he traveled over the country, giving missions and retreats in large cities and towns, acquiring an ever-increasing reputation for eloquence, for piety, and for zeal. He had all the qualities of an orator; a splendid presence, a magnetic manner, a clear, resonant voice, a logical mind, learning tinged with a poetic vein, and strong emotional qualities.

In 1870 his missionary career was interrupted by his superiors who sent him to build the new Church of St. Alphonsus in Thompson street, New York. Here, as pastor, he overcame many difficulties, financial and administrative, and finished the church in April, 1872, when his friend and admirer, the Most Rev. John McCloskey, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of New York, dedicated the edifice.

In 1873 he was again assigned to the missions, in which he served for seven years more, showing in this second epoch of his missionary career a more mature intelligence and a more finished style of oratory. He became also a favorite preacher of retreats to nuns and to priests, among whom he labored with apostolic zeal and with great popularity and success.

In the month of July, 1880, he was appointed rector of St. Alphonsus' Church which he had built in New York ten years before; and he continued to discharge the office of rector of that church until May, 1893, a period of thirteen years. During that time he was appointed by the Archbishop for several years one of the diocesan consultors of New York. In 1893 he was removed from New York and commissioned rector of the Church of St. Joseph, Rochester, a church belonging to the Redemptorist Fathers, which he governed, however, only for a short time, until November 19, 1894. His health now began to break down physically and mentally; his voice was growing weaker, his step slower, his energy less. Old age and hard work were telling on him. His Superior General, Father Nicholas Mauron, having died in July, 1894, the new General, Father Mathias Raus, appointed Father Wayrich to lighter work in the parish of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in the city and diocese of Brooklyn, N.Y. Here he became very ill, and was compelled to betake himself to St. Vincent's Hospital, New York, for treatment. After convalescence, with the permission of his provincial, Father Lety, he took a trip in the month of July, 1896, to California, with his friend Father Anthony Kessler, rector of St. Joseph's Church, New York, who was afterwards drowned at sea in the French steamer the "Bourgogne."

On his return from California, Father Wayrich, in August, 1896, was assigned to duty in the parish of the Immaculate Conception, East 150th Street, Bronx, and there became so ill that he had to go to St. Francis' Hospital, East 143d Street, for treatment in 1897. His Superiors then thought that a complete change of air would restore his health, so they sent him to assist in administering the parish of St. Peter, in St. John's, New Brunswick, British America. But the change did not

benefit him, so on July 3, 1897, he retired, with permission, to Flushing, Long Island, where he was for some time the guest of his friend, Dean Donnelly, the pastor of the place. In the month of September of the same year the Redemptorist Father Visitor, Father Schwartz, sent him to St. Mary's Church, Buffalo, N. Y., where he remained only a short time. His health broken, his nervous system strained, irritated by the constant changes of place, he asked and obtained from the General of the Redemptorists a dispensation from his obligations to the Congregation, which he left on July 11, 1898, and came to the city of New York, where he remained a short time with his friend the Benedictine Abbot Edelbrock. A parish was now offered him in the diocese of Newark by the then Bishop Wigger of saintly memory; but he preferred New York, where Archbishop Corrigan kindly received him, gave him the faculties of the diocese, and after a short period of service at St. Mary's Church, Mount Vernon, and at St. Joseph's Church in West 125th Street, appointed him chaplain of the Leo House in State street. On June 18, 1901, he was transferred from State street and sent to found a new German parish at Stapleton, Staten Island. He bought the ground necessary for the purpose, laid the cornerstone of the Church on October 20, 1901, and had it dedicated on April 9, 1902, with the title of St. John Baptist de la Salle, who had very recently been canonized. This is most probably the first church in the United States dedicated to that saint, the great patron of the Christian Brothers and of Christian schools.

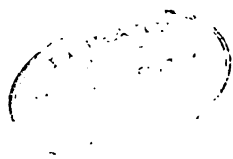
He remained in Stapleton until July 14, 1904, when he became so seriously ill that he had to resign his charge. In August, 1904, he was able to do light work at Hartsdale, Westchester County, where he became the chaplain of the Sisters of Mercy in that salubrious neighborhood. Thence, after a short interval of duty in St. Joseph's, West 125th Street, once the home of his old friend, Father Kessler, he was transferred to the chaplaincy of Seton Hospital for Consumptives, where he died of pneumonia on the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, March 7, 1907. His funeral took place from St. Patrick's Cathedral, on March 9th. Archbishop Farley pronounced the



RT. REV. MGR. PATRICK F. MCSWEENEY, D.D., LL.D.



REV. FREDERIC WILLIAM WAYRICH.



last absolution, and Rev. Henry A. Brann, D.D., preached the funeral sermon.

Three times during his life Father Wayrich was honorably mentioned for a miter, once for Newark, N.J., again for Savannah, Ga., and for Charleston, S.C.

He was a man of an affectionate nature and of great simplicity of character. Hence he sometimes made mistakes, for he suspected no one of intrigue or perfidy. He was frank, outspoken, and sincere. He was talented, eloquent, and well informed, remarkably charitable and forgiving in deed as in word.

RIGHT REV. PATRICK FRANCIS MCSWEENEY, D.D.

BY REV. EDWARD MCSWEENEY, D.D.

Right Rev. Patrick Francis McSweeney, D.D., rector of St. Brigid's, New York, one of the oldest members of the *United States Catholic Historical Society*, was born in Cork, July 9, 1838. He came to this country with his father in 1849, and first attended the Jesuit College in Cincinnati. He was for a while in Villanova, near Philadelphia, but finished his classical course at St. Francis Xavier's, New York, where he had for college-mates Dr. Herbermann, Dr. John Mooney, Dr. Brann, Bishop Wigger, and other prominent ecclesiastics and laymen. In 1856 he went to Rome and remained for six years at the Propaganda, graduating Doctor of Philosophy in 1858, and Doctor of Theology in 1862.

On his return to New York he became assistant at the old cathedral, Mott street, with Fathers McGean and Kearney, who, together with himself, were invested with the prelatical purple forty-four years later.

For many years Monsignor McSweeney was engaged in the missions of the Hudson, and while pastor in Poughkeepsie, made, in 1873, with Cardinal McCloskey's approval, an arrangement whereby the Board of Education there maintained St. Peter's Catholic public schools. The "plan," as it was called, continued to operate for twenty-five years, and succeeded

in raising the standard of instruction in those schools, while Catholic education in them was looked after carefully as before, the Board doubling the number of teachers and paying salaries twice as large as the priest had been able to give. All the teachers, Sisters and lay persons, were Catholics nominated by the pastor.

Cardinal Persico about the same period succeeded in bringing about a similar condition in Savannah, while at New Haven, Elmira, etc., some like arrangement was made with the local authorities.

In 1877 Monsignor McSweeney returned to New York and, becoming pastor of St. Brigid's, remained there till his death, February 24, 1907.

The Archbishop chanted his requiem and Monsignor Burt-sell, his classmate of the Propaganda, preached the funeral discourse. Bishops McDonnell and Cusack; Rt. Rev. Vicars General Mooney, Lavelle and Edwards; Monsignors McCready, O'Keeffe, Barrett, Lynch and McKenna, assisted in the sanctuary, while Monsignors McGean and Kearney were deacons of honor to the Most Rev. Archbishop. Dr. Edward McSweeney, of Mount St. Mary's, Maryland, a brother of the deceased, was Arch-priest of the Mass. A large number of pastors and assistants were also present, besides a large throng of people from St. Bridget's and other parishes. Monsignor Lammel conducted the music of the service. *R. I. P.*

VERY REV. DENIS PAUL O'FLYNN, P.R.

BY REV. THOMAS McMILLAN, C.S.P.

BORN May 24, 1848, in Ardrior, parish of Buttevant, County Cork, Denis Paul O'Flynn received his early education at St. Colman's College, Fermoy, Ireland. His later studies were made in France. After finishing his theological course with distinction he was ordained at Louvain University July 27, 1873, and was honored with the degree of Licentiate of Sacred

Theology. Shortly after his ordination Father O'Flynn was enrolled among the priests of New York. He was first assigned to the Church of the Immaculate Conception on East Fourteenth Street, where he remained three years. In the year 1878 he was appointed rector of St. Mary's Church at Saugerties, Ulster County, N.Y. Here he did effective work for the advancement of the Faith during fourteen years. By his promotion to the office of Rural Dean he became a trusted adviser and leader among his brother priests. For a brief period in the year 1889 he acted as Vicar Apostolic of the Bahama Islands for the Archbishop of New York. The most conspicuous part of Father O'Flynn's active career dated from his appointment as permanent rector of St. Joseph's Church, Sixth Avenue and Washington Place, in 1892. From that time until his lamented death, August 22, 1906, he labored strenuously aided by his devoted curates and the generous cooperation of his parishioners. Owing to changed conditions and enlarged population in the territory committed to his care, he quickly arranged plans for the commodious fire-proof school building which will remain for long years as a fitting monument to his zeal in the cause of Christian education. In order to secure the space needed for the school he was obliged to pull down the old rectory and erect a new one fronting on the adjoining street, known as Waverly Place. Many difficulties of management confronted the zealous pastor during the construction of the new buildings, especially the problem of providing for the increased expenditure. His forcible appeals to his people elicited a generous response, so that the receipts of St. Joseph's Church at this time far surpassed the record of any previous period in the history of the parish. The wisdom of his plans as shown in the elegant outlines of the architecture, choice of material and solid construction came to be admired far and wide. Visitors from distant places, as well as others near at home, cheerfully conceded that the new school and the new rectory, requiring persistent personal effort on the part of Father O'Flynn, were model buildings worthy of imitation and well adapted to their needs.

His general benevolence won for him a large circle of friends. In his years of vigorous health he had a giant strength of endurance, and his heart was in proportion to the size of his body. The Ladies of Calvary, whose home for cancer patients was under his care, and the inmates of St. Vincent's Hospital had daily proofs of his sympathy and kindly compassion. Jefferson Market Court House—within two blocks of his rectory—furnished many applicants for reform, advice, and financial assistance.

Father O'Flynn frequently displayed his good will towards those engaged in missionary labors, not only by liberal stipends to the workers who came to his own parish, but also by his cordial appreciation of results bearing on the general welfare of the Church. He was the first among New York City rectors to welcome the new band of the Apostolate Fathers formed by Bishop Cusack, with the cooperation of the Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P. His well chosen library was bequeathed to the Paulist Fathers.

When the Constitutional Convention of New York State assembled to revise and change the fundamental laws at Albany in 1894, there was good reason for alarm among the defenders of Catholic interests. By secret circulars and anonymous cartoons sent broadcast through the agency of bigots masquerading under the plausible title of "The League for the Protection of American Institutions," it was made to appear a patriotic duty to check the growth of Catholic schools, and abolish all forms of appropriation for charitable projects under denominational management.

After long discussion and a most rigorous inspection conducted by a committee from the Constitutional Convention the decision was given against the frantic appeals of those who opposed State aid for dependent children in buildings provided by the funds of philanthropic members of Churches. In regard to the attitude of the State towards Catholics engaged in maintaining elementary schools, the condition was most unsatisfactory after the Constitutional Convention adjourned. The objection was raised that the claims of the Catholic parochial

school had not been fully presented to the law makers, and that the policy of self-defense required a vigorous denial of the misrepresentations spread abroad by malicious enemies. Other indications were not wanting to show that new attacks were contemplated, and that a defensive movement was imperatively needed to restate the convictions of Catholic citizens with reference to the schools supported exclusively by their own money. Father O'Flynn's early fondness for legal studies, especially in the department of Canon law, led him to take a leading part in this new discussion on behalf of Catholic schools throughout the whole State of New York. He gave a cordial welcome at his house to all having opinions to offer bearing on different phases of this important question. At a later date, in conjunction with a committee appointed by Archbishop Corrigan, he made numerous journeys, gathering information from local representatives as to the best methods of opposing the determined enemies of Catholic education.

By means of the agitation resulting from this wide-spread combination of forces certain hostile enactments proposed to the New York Legislature were defeated. It was deemed advisable, following the suggestions of expert legal advisers, to prepare an affirmative statement not merely to refute false testimony, but to uphold the principle of public taxation for universal education, and to show that Catholics could work in harmony with the demands of any public system of education, while maintaining their undeniable right to secure moral and religious instruction for their own children. This statement was sent to all public officials, and for its historical value it is here appended.

CATHOLIC CITIZENS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The parish school is a factor in the public educational work of the United States and should not be classified under the heading of private schools, in which large tuition fees are charged and social distinctions recognized to favor the children of the wealthy. No such limitations are met with in the parish

schools, founded and supported, with few exceptions, by representatives of the common people.

According to existing laws in New York State, citizens have the unquestionable right as parents and guardians to provide for the religious and secular education of their children. This right is exercised by the educational associations, formed within parish boundaries, to establish and perpetuate parish schools chiefly for kindergarten training and elementary instruction. The citizens who form these societies are sincerely devoted to the public welfare, and would quickly resent any imputation against their patriotism. They demand for their children definite and dogmatic religious instruction, according to the faith professed by at least two hundred and fifty millions of Catholics throughout the world. It is well understood that the teaching of religion is not within the power of the State: neither can the public funds be used in aid or in maintenance of any particular form of religious belief.

At the present time, in New York State, the patrons of Christian education are paying from their own hard-earned money the cost of educating about one hundred and fifty thousand children in the Catholic parish schools. For the defence of their conscientious convictions, they have erected in many places commodious fire-proof buildings, thus relieving their fellow-citizens of a large amount of local taxation. Another important claim is in the fact, that this arduous work of training the young in Christian virtue is an immense advantage to the State. It leads to the highest type of citizenship and supplies a most effective antidote to false socialistic theories. Surely, a public recognition of the voluntary efforts of parents to educate their own children would not demand a union of Church and State. It would require only an act of long-delayed justice to indicate grateful appreciation of the loyal citizens, whose millions of dollars are spent in the support of parish schools. Public thanks are given to other citizens for gifts representing much less expenditure, and of much less value to the public welfare. From the statistics given in this pamphlet, the calculation can be easily made as to the total

expense on the basis of twenty-five dollars a year, as the cost of each pupil. By adding the cost of buildings and property, the figures for New York State are to be found high up in the millions.

In presenting our claim to fair-minded citizens, it is assumed as a starting point that the parish schools can and ought willingly to provide for the entire expense of imparting religious instruction. Among reasonable people a basis of agreement can also be made on equitable terms by which these parish schools—without losing their autonomy—may cooperate with any board of education in the teaching of the secular studies prescribed for citizenship. The managers, according to this plan, legally transfer the control of the secular studies to a board, authorized by the State, when they consent to accept the public standard of examination and inspection. Between Church and State the present relations could be continued without friction, by granting this equitable demand for recognition, together with payment for results, strictly limited to the teaching of the secular studies. To pay for the teaching of arithmetic or other similar studies does not bring the State outside of its bounden duty to provide for representation as well as for taxation. Phantom objections, from bygone bigots, may be placed in evidence, but it is to be hoped that sound thinkers will now give serious consideration to the real facts of the case. The American principle of fair play and no favor can be applied to remove, in part at least, the unjust burden imposed upon the patrons of parish schools.

The members of the undersigned Committee represent the City of New York, which is the largest centre of Catholic population in the United States, and is under the patronage of the glorious Saint Patrick. We venture to express the hope that this appeal will have a wide circulation among Catholics and non-Catholics. It contains a frank statement of a grievance that should be faced by all who wish to advance the welfare of our beloved country, and to make the American flag a symbol of justice to all God-fearing men. The leaders in Catholic organizations seeking to promote religious zeal, civic virtue and

fraternity among their members, may safely be trusted to spread abroad the figures herein given, and to insist that the editors of papers, supported by their patronage, shall give some space to discussions of their cherished convictions. A similar policy should be adopted towards every public official, responsible for the publication of educational statistics. In the past there has been evidence of a conspiracy of silence in regard to Catholic education.

During fifty years or more in New York City, large numbers were taught in the parish schools lessons of Christian virtue and patriotism. Thousands of these graduates are now voters, able and willing to give proof of their capacity for citizenship and success in business. To them especially it will be a labor of love to assist in the movement to remove false impressions and bring about a better understanding of the gigantic work that has been done in Catholic schools for God and our Country.

Committee of New York Catholic School Board.	{	Right Rev. MONSIGNOR MOONEY, LL.D., V.G.,
		<i>Director of the Sacred Heart School.</i>
		Very Rev. DENIS PAUL O'FLYNN,
		<i>Director of St. Joseph's School.</i>
		Rev. MICHAEL J. LAVELLE, LL.D.,
		<i>Director of St. Patrick's Cathedral School.</i>
		Rev. THOMAS McMILLAN, C.S.P.,
		<i>Director of Schools of Paulist Fathers.</i>

WILLIAM SCHICKEL.

William Schickel, a member of the *United States Catholic Historical Society*, one of the leading architects of the metropolis, died in New York on June 14, leaving a record of many and remarkable achievements in his profession.

He was born in Wiesbaden, Germany, in 1850 and emigrated to New York twenty years later. He devoted himself largely to ecclesiastical work, and some of his ideals are embodied in the Churches of St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Monica, and

St. Joseph, New York, St. Joseph's Seminary at Dunwoodie, the Jesuit Novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson, St. Francis', St. Joseph's, and St. Vincent's Hospitals, New York, and many other institutions as well as many residences and business buildings. Early in his career he returned to his native land and was there married to Miss Elise Schumacher who, with seven children, survives him. One of his daughters, Agnes, was received as a religious of the Sacred Heart in the convent at Kenwood, N.Y., a few days before his death which was quite sudden, following a serious surgical operation.

JAMES J. McKENNA.

James J. McKenna, for many years a member of the *United States Catholic Historical Society*, died December 21, 1906, at Ridgewood, N.J. Mr. McKenna was born in New York City in 1850. His family were for many years prominent members of St. Peter's parish. His uncle and father were a well known and highly respected firm of brass founders, of which Mr. McKenna became a member, after attending the College of St. Francis Xavier's. For many years he successfully directed the work of the firm which passed into his hands after the death of his father. All who dealt with the deceased recognized in him the soul of honesty and honor, for Mr. McKenna never forgot in practical life the principles of virtue which his parents had instilled into him by word and example, and which, as a loyal Catholic, he always professed.

In 1876, he married Mary, daughter of John P. O'Neill. His married life was most happy, and blessed with two children, James and Anna, all of whom survive him.

Retiring in disposition and absorbed in his family and business duties, Mr. McKenna did not seek political position. His patriotism, however, lead him to serve the State in the 7th Regiment, where his manly, straight-forward character was fully appreciated as is shown by his being for many years a member of the board of officers in the regiment.

Some years ago his health began to fail him and in 1904 he withdrew from business. He was a loyal son, both of the Church and of his country, honest, upright and manly, a loving husband and father, and a most worthy citizen.

JAMES S. COLEMAN.

James S. Coleman, one of the oldest members of the Society, and for several terms one of its directors, died on December 10, 1906, at his residence, 38 East 69th Street, New York. He was one of the most successful contractors in the country and the builder of the new Croton Dam. His father was a contractor also. Mr. Coleman was born in Albany in October, 1843. When he was nineteen he became associated in business with his brother, Michael. They built about 1,000 miles of the Texas and Pacific Railroad, took part in the construction of the Union Pacific, and did work for most of the railroads that enter Jersey City and Hoboken. Mr. Coleman was one of the builders of the tunnel between Weehawken and New Durham, N. J. He was made Street Cleaning Commissioner of New York City in 1881 and served two terms. He was the first official to make use of the garbage formerly disposed of as waste material. He was a bachelor.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, NEW YORK, FEB. 19, 1907.

THE annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held this evening at the Catholic Club.

The Honorary President, His Grace, the Archbishop, was present, and the President, Dr. Herbermann, presided.

The reading of the roll having been dispensed with, the Secretary proceeded to read the minutes of the previous meeting, and these were, upon motion, adopted.

The Recording Secretary made a short report in regard to the membership; and from this it appeared the

Number of members on roll, Feb. 1, 1906, was..... 379

“ “ “ since admitted 40

Loss by resignation 1

“ “ death 1 2

Making an increase of..... 38

Total on roll call Feb. 1, 1907..... 417

The Treasurer's report was then read and a committee, consisting of Judge Daly and Messrs. King and Pulleyn, was appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

New members were proposed as follows:

By Miss Rosine M. Parmentier:—The Rev. Mother Superior of the Convent of St. Joseph, Brentwood, L.I.

By Mr. Fargis:—Harold H. O'Connor, 56 Pine street.

Dr. Herbermann then addressed the meeting, making an interesting summary of the work of the Society during the year just ending, first rendering the heartfelt thanks of the Society to His Grace, the Archbishop, for his presence at our meeting. Dr. Herbermann also availed himself of the occasion to make several complimentary remarks concerning those who had assisted him in the work of the Society, especially in the production of the latest volume of *Records and Studies*. The President likewise announced that several old and interesting pamphlets

had been donated by Miss Parmentier, to whose continued generosity he made earnest tribute.

Then followed the election of officers for the coming year. The ticket proposed by the Executive Council was read, and the Secretary was, upon motion, instructed to cast one ballot for all the nominees. The entire ticket was thereupon declared elected, as follows:

<i>President,</i>	Chas. G. Herbermann, Ph.D., LL.D.
<i>Vice-President,</i>	Stephen Farrelly.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	Richard S. Treacy.
<i>Recording Secretary,</i>	John E. Cahalan.
<i>Corresponding Secretary,</i>	Joseph H. Fargis.
<i>Librarian,</i>	Rev. M. J. Considine.

Trustees:

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Joseph F. Mooney, V.G., Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jas. H. McGean, Henry Heide, Hugh Kelly, Thos. S. O'Brien, LL.D., Peter Condon, Thos. F. Meehan.

Councillors:

Hon. Edw. B. Amend, LL.D., Rev. Thos. J. Campbell, S.J., Wm. R. King, Edward J. McGuire, Rev. John J. Burke, C.S.P., Rev. Joseph F. Delany, D.D.

His Grace, the Archbishop, then made quite an extended address, expressing his gratification at the work accomplished by the Society under the presidency of Dr. Herbermann.

He assured the audience of his warm personal interest in our publications, and of his high estimate of their historical value.

He thought, however, that our membership roll should be larger; and he urged upon the Society the advisability of adopting some judicious system of advertising, so as to secure a more liberal support and render the work more effective. To this end he promised his personal contribution of one hundred dollars.

At the close of His Grace's address, the meeting adjourned.

JOHN E. CAHALAN,
Recording Secretary.

RICHARD S. TREACY, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE U. S. CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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NEW YORK, October 23, 1907.

We, the undersigned, have examined the above statement and found same correct.

JOHN J. PULLEY, } Auditor
JAMES K. ... }





GOVERNOR EDWARD KAVANAGH.

HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES.

GOVERNOR EDWARD KAVANAGH.

BY VERY REV. MGR. CHARLES W. COLLINS.

THE chronicles of Colonial days have conferred an immortality upon the founders of the small settlements on the Atlantic seaboard that became the nucleus of the United States. Gifted writers have invested their forms with majesty. Song and story have woven their names into our national life.

In the vista of a bygone century rises a dim host of men who came here in later days to make the Republic an accomplished fact and in war and peace cemented its fabric with their blood and the sweat of their brows. In courage and enterprise they were not inferior to their predecessors, but no careful annals tell for us the rugged epic of their lives, and they have gone down to oblivion like the brave men who lived before Agamemnon.

When, therefore, we look about us and behold those who hold the balance of power, intellectual prestige, and wealth, we are fain to congratulate these favored sons of fortune, the descendants of the pioneers, on the fact that their ancestors arrived early in this land and lacked not scribes to record their exploits.

America, indeed, has been a land of opportunities, of stupendous growth and swiftly moving event, but up and down the country and especially in New England development has been quite gradual and conservative and, as a general rule, those who control things have inherited that control.

The man who attempts in one lifetime to accomplish what has been in process of acquisition for his fellows during three or four generations labors under a heavy handicap, and though the growth of the Catholic Church in the United States has been phenomenal, the progress of its individual members has

been slow by comparison. A multitude of circumstances even now retards the advancement of the Catholic who aspires to eminence in public life, and we can all recall numerous gifted sons of the Church who had every requisite for conspicuous success except a fair chance.

It is therefore with a keen and vicarious satisfaction that I tell the life-story of a Catholic American, the son of an Irishman, born in a Maine hamlet in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and dying before his forty-eighth birthday, who in some degree had the opportunity of starting on even terms with his contemporaries and of writing his life into the archives of his native State and the nation; of a man who in the whole course of his public or private life never compromised in one whit his religious convictions or personal honor, and yet moved a peer among the best men of his time, enacted an important part in varied and arduous fields of activity, and illustrated to his day and generation the ideal of a Christian gentleman and statesman.

The story of this career is no gossamer of the imagination, nor was it studied through a magnifying glass; its romance is all of fact. If it be unknown to the present generation, this is perhaps the fault of their fathers; for the deeds of our people in past days have been allowed to sink into a dim and all but voiceless tradition, whose fragments are already sought by students in sorrowful anger that the history of early Catholics in America has been left so largely to the pen of the Recording Angel.

Edward Kavanagh came of good stock. His father, James Kavanagh, a native of New Ross in the County of Wexford, a man of education and marked business ability, arrived in Boston in 1780, and in company with other Irishmen of energy and enterprise took up his residence at Damariscotta, Lincoln County, Maine, and entered upon commerce and ship-building. He purchased and occupied a large portion of the present town of New Castle, carried on an extensive trade in his own ships, and down to the War of 1812, when his fleet was destroyed, was a man of influence and wealth, as it was then computed.

On June 16, 1794, Mr. Kavanagh married Sarah Jackson, a convert to the Faith and a member of an old Boston family. Edward, their first child and the eldest of a large family, was born April 27, 1795, at Damariscotta. As his boyish eyes were opening to a comprehension of things about him, he could look forth from the windows of the substantial Colonial mansion, erected in 1803, over the wide fields and woodlands of his father, and below in the river that widened to the bay he could see the sturdy ships that carried the merchandise of Kavanagh and Cottrill to the West Indies and Europe.

His early years were spent in the picturesque village, in the sheltered, cultured home presided over by his charming mother, whose beauty was reflected in the faces of her children. His young mind was nurtured on solid Catholic doctrine, on the history of New England talked over at the fireside, on the tales of foreign lands and distant cities that were a commonplace in the town whose highway was the ocean and where nearly every man was a sailor. He absorbed with youthful avidity that wide sympathy with the great world beyond, the birthright of those born on the coast, "the beauty and mystery of the ships and the magic of the sea."

Damariscotta and his father's house were a veritable Catholic oasis to the heroic priests who traversed the wilderness of Maine to minister to the scattered children of the Faith. Thither to the Kavanagh mansion, whose gracious hospitality welcomed bishop and priest for three-quarters of a century, came the gentle Matignon, who had blessed his parents' marriage. Thither came the courtly Cheverus, the first Bishop of Boston, who later on was to go back reluctantly to his own land and die Cardinal of Bordeaux. Thither, too, came Bishop Carroll with the whole country for his diocese, and the indefatigable Bishop Fenwick to whom Catholic New England owes so much. In the Kavanagh family circle these refined and studious men, who had to grapple with the crude problems of the infant Church, found a congenial atmosphere and an intellectual solace for their hardships. Thus Dr. Cheverus

writes from Damariscotta to Bishop Carroll, July 30, 1808: "The zeal, the whole generosity of dear Mr. Kavanagh, are above all praise. It is he who encouraged us to begin our church in Boston and who was the greatest help toward finishing it. . . . For these ten years past I have every year spent here a considerable time and have always experienced from Mr. and Mrs. Kavanagh the same friendly, respectful, and delicate attention."

So, in the remote Maine village the boy came under the influence and inspiration of the best and wisest churchmen of that day. In his heart was kindled noble ambition. In his mind rose the vision that comes before the great man's work. All these fortunate circumstances molded the child's character to that strong faith, that purity of soul, that stainless honor that marked his public life and won the admiration of all who knew him.

The Catholic community of Damariscotta, though fortunate in many ways, was not to enjoy an unbroken Arcadian peace, for the Great and General Court of Massachusetts, which was then arbiter of the destinies of Maine, was of a strong Congregational tinge, and the ministerial tax was levied on all alike.

In 1798 James Kavanagh converted a building on his property into a Catholic chapel, and, considering that in the maintenance of this chapel he was doing his part in the support of religion, applied to be relieved of the ministerial tax, or to have his portion of it devoted to the support of his pastor. This application received some local recognition, but a lawsuit followed, which was tried before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1800, and resulted, March 5, 1801, in an unanimous decision against him. The Court ruled that: "The Constitution obliges every one to contribute for the support of Protestant ministers and them alone. Papists are only tolerated, and as long as their ministers behave themselves well, we shall not disturb them, but let them expect no more than that."

This emphatic evangelical decision left a permanent impression on the Kavanagh family and contributed twenty years later to an important change in the constitution of Maine.

On July 17, 1808, the present Church of St. Patrick at Damariscotta was blessed by Dr. Cheverus and opened for divine service, which has continued at its altar for one hundred years.

Various writers have stated that Edward Kavanagh was educated at Montreal, but it is not of record. In 1810 he entered Georgetown College, as its archives attest, but the length of his stay at that institution is not known. In 1812 he was a student at St. Mary's College, Baltimore, where he had as associates the sons of distinguished Maryland and Virginia families. St. Mary's conferred upon him in 1821 the degree of Master of Arts, but the letter of Dr. Tessier, the Rector, to Bishop Cheverus, shows that he left before graduation; but that he departed in good standing is certain, for Dr. Tessier writes: "I am happy to do this small service for this young man whom I have never ceased to esteem and love." Certain accounts state that Kavanagh was intended for the Church, but I find nothing to warrant the assertion.

After leaving Baltimore the young man went to the Old World to continue his studies and remained two years. An account printed in 1844 relates that he entered Trinity College in Dublin and received degrees there, but it is more probable that he entered some Catholic house of studies. At all events he was resident at Paris in the summer of 1814 and was received in audience at Rome by Pope Pius VII. It is to be regretted that no letters or journals of Mr. Kavanagh covering this period, have come to light. The first-hand account of this boy of twenty would be valuable as throwing light on the scenes of that stirring time when all Europe was still shivering at the name of Napoleon, and the Sovereign Pontiff, like another Athanasius, harried from city to city, had just come to his own again.

The War of 1812 crippled the resources of James Kavanagh and claims for ships lost at that time were in litigation throughout the lifetime of his son. Some time around 1815 Edward Kavanagh returned home and devoted himself to his father's business and the study of law. The National Cyclopedia of

Biography has it that he did not care for a business career, but tradition avers that he was an excellent business man and in five years had the family finances on a satisfactory basis. Mrs. Kavanagh died in 1816, but her husband lived until 1828 and saw his son a member of the Maine Legislature.

For a long time Maine had been chafing under the dominion of Massachusetts and had made several attempts to be admitted as a State. Through the dim history of those days moves the stalwart figure of William King, half-brother to Rufus King of New York, a self-made man who rose to be the largest ship owner in America and a dominating influence in his native State. King was the leader of those who desired separate government, and finally in 1819, a convention met at Portland to draft a constitution.

The Catholics of Damariscotta were fully alive to the proceedings at Portland, and James Kavanagh made up his mind, that if he could be of any avail, there would be no ministerial tax in the State of Maine. There is in the excellent edition of the Maine constitution edited by Mr. Carver a long petition signed by Messrs. Kavanagh, Cottrill, and Mooney asking from the convention a recognition of the rights of Catholics as citizens. But it seems that another document which came from the hand of Edward Kavanagh was placed before that convention. I can do no better than relate the story in the words of Major Dickey, who in this democratic land rejoiced for fifty years in the title: "Duke of Fort Kent."

"When the convention of the province of Maine met at Portland in 1819 to form a constitution, the delegates adopted among many other features of the old Massachusetts constitution a clause denying to Catholics the right to hold office.

On the morning after this clause was adopted, the chairman of the convention—I think John Holmes was the man—found on his desk a sealed envelope. He opened it and found within an argument against the discriminating clause. No name was signed to it, but so strong was the argument that when the chairman read it to the convention the anti-Catholic article was reconsidered and stricken out by a unanimous vote.

The author of the anonymous communication was not known

for many years. I discovered him in a peculiar way. Edward Kavanagh of Damariscotta was an intimate friend of mine. He was one of the most modest as well as one of the ablest men in Maine. One day in my presence he dropped an expression which led me to suspect that he was the author of the letter which had so powerfully influenced the convention.

I remembered the incident and some years after his death I called on his sister, Miss Winnifred Kavanagh, at Damariscotta. She gave me permission to examine the Governor's papers which were in a great chest upstairs.

After several hours of search I found the original manuscript of that argument that turned the constitutional convention. It was in Kavanagh's handwriting and was endorsed on the back by Bishop Fenwick, an early Catholic divine of New England, who was an intimate friend and sometime chaplain of Governor Kavanagh.

Kavanagh wrote the article while finishing his education at Montreal. Not daring to trust his own judgment, he sent it to Bishop Fenwick for his approval. That approval was given and the article was sent to the convention with remarkable results.

Kavanagh was a remarkable man and a great scholar as well. He was on the North East Boundary Commission where his knowledge of French made him very useful. Being president of the senate when John Fairfield was elected to the national senate, he succeeded to the office of Governor, which he could never have filled but for his modest but powerful argument addressed to the constitutional convention of 1819."

The debates on the Maine constitution in the minutes of Willis and Perley are silent as to the incident related by Major Dickey, nor have I seen any mention of it in the Kavanagh papers. The discussion on religious worship in convention was long and warm, but not on Catholic claims. The petition mentioned above was considered and the chairman stated that the petitioners would have their prayer granted in the Bill of Rights as adopted in committee. This petition could by no means be mistaken for an anonymous argument, and its extreme statements on papal supremacy could hardly have received the approval of any bishop. It must have been in committee, therefore, that the argument was read and the objectionable

article stricken out, for the Bill of Rights was adopted substantially as it came from committee, and the clause reads: "Nor shall any religious test be required as a qualification for any office or trust under this State."

There are some minor inaccuracies in Major Dickey's story, for Canadian educators assure me that Kavanagh was not educated at Montreal, and it must have been Bishop Cheverus who endorsed the argument, for Bishop Fenwick was not consecrated until 1825. But accepting the main lines of the account as accurate, it is certainly an amazing thing that the argument of a man of twenty-four should amend the constitution of a State in one of the most delicate and thorny points that could come into discussion.

If it demanded an able man to write that argument, it required just men to see its force, and it is to the abiding honor of the State of Maine that in her cradle she cast away from her the principle of religious proscription; that, excepting some regrettable episodes characteristic of all North East at the time, she has remained faithful to the spirit of her constitution in religious matters; and that the deliberations of her legislators exhibit a recognition of equity in this regard that might have served as a model for other States that waited many a year before they accorded equal rights to Catholics. There is no doubt that a large measure of the credit for this admirable spirit is due to the work and character of Edward Kavanagh.

At this time the number of Catholics in the State, exclusive of the Acadian French in the north, was about five hundred.

It does not appear that at any period of his life, Mr. Kavanagh felt strongly attracted to the practice of law or to forensic eloquence, for he was not admitted as an attorney before the Supreme Court until 1829, but it is evident that from the very first, he believed himself to possess qualifications for a diplomatic career.

When William King, the first Governor of Maine, resigned office in 1821 to become chairman of the Spanish Treaty Commission, Kavanagh made an attempt to secure a clerkship. We

find Bishop Cheverus recommending him "as a very amiable and worthy young gentleman." "He will, I have no doubt," writes the bishop, "do himself credit in any situation in which he may be placed, and his scrupulous fidelity may be depended upon in any affair entrusted to him." Next, the young man obtained his degree from St. Mary's College through Bishop Cheverus, and on this topic there are some interesting letters from that singular divine, Father Taylor, who went to Rome to convert the Pope and ended by being converted himself and entering the priesthood.

There is another letter from Albert Smith, afterward Congressman, in whose office Kavanagh studied law, stating that the applicant was a finished scholar, familiar with the French and Spanish languages and ending with the remark: "As an accountant and a penman, I can truly say I have known but few equals to Mr. Kavanagh, and from a most intimate acquaintance of four years I most confidently assert few men possess finer qualities of head and heart." But after all the application was unsuccessful.

The active mind of the young man, baffled in the hope of employment under the national Government, turned to politics, which from that time to the end was to occupy much of his attention. He was elected to the Legislature in 1826 and to the State Senate in 1828 and acted as its secretary. From old residents of his district I learned that he never experienced any difficulty or opposition on the score of religion, but tradition states that he was a man of such charming manners and staunch integrity that no other candidate had any chance against him where he was well known.

Political honors were not then to be had for the asking any more than to-day and party politics was far from unsophisticated even in the "twenties." In these early contests in caucus and at the polls, Mr. Kavanagh had arrayed against him able men and good politicians, and in the legislative contest of 1828 he led the poll when the candidates numbered among them men who were in public life when he was at school.

In partial explanation it must be said that Maine was then

a strong Democratic State and that party was managed by able and broad-gaged men, who understood the worth of a man like Kavanagh for the organization. He was gifted, educated far beyond most of his colleagues, and possessed in an eminent degree that combination of qualities that makes a man invaluable as a leader and adviser in a political organization. For this reason the Democrats stood by him and steadily advanced him.

But Edward Kavanagh had never forgotten that vision of a larger life which in boyhood had beckoned to him from the sea. In 1829 he tried again to enter diplomacy. Judge Preble, who later on became a political friend, was named Minister to the Netherlands, and a movement was started to have Kavanagh made Secretary of Legation. The appointment, however, went to another. Doubtless it would have been fortunate for Preble if Kavanagh had received the appointment and exercised his quiet and effective influence on the choleric Judge, who is popularly believed to have involved himself in a quarrel with the King of the Netherlands, to have shaken his fist in the royal countenance, and been abruptly recalled in consequence.

During the entire public life of Mr. Kavanagh, the North East Boundary was a burning question. It is difficult at this day to give any adequate idea of the sentiments of Maine people at that time, who saw themselves deprived of 4000 square miles of territory by the machinations of the British Government and the indifference at Washington. Nothing between the Revolution and the Civil War wrought Maine people to such a pitch of excitement. For fifty years there had been endless recriminations and border troubles. Reams of reports, hundreds of pamphlets, and numberless editorials teemed with hot language and argument on the paramount issue.

The entire controversy turned upon the application of the Treaty of Paris, which took the River St. Croix as a starting point, and established as a divisional line on the north certain highlands supposed to separate the rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, from those emptying into the St. Lawrence. The

treaty commissioners had only the most hazy idea of the geography of the matter and relied on inaccurate maps. Three rivers were variously claimed as the true St. Croix and while the British asserted the highlands of the treaty to be located in the latitude of Mars Hill, the Maine advocates placed them some hundred miles to the north.

With a view of obtaining some reliable information on the territory, Governor Smith in 1831 appointed Messrs. Kavanagh and Deane as commissioners to visit the district and ascertain the number of people settled on the public lands in the disputed territory. The commissioners met at Bangor in June of that year, proceeded north by Moosehead Lake, the Penobscot and Allegash rivers to the St. John, descended that stream to Grand Falls, and, retracing their course, went up the Fish River to the Aroostook, visiting the settlers in that valley and arrived in Bangor again, August 24, 1831. The report of this expedition with an exhaustive list of settlers, their titles and possessions, in the copperplate handwriting of Mr. Kavanagh, is among his papers, a closely written pamphlet of seventy-five pages.

One has merely to follow the route of this journey on the map of Maine and take into account that the course of the commissioners was through a primeval wilderness, without roads or any means of conveyance except boats, to appreciate what a task it was, but it is characteristic of the subject of this paper that no hint of difficulty or discomfort can be gleaned from his correspondence, though he took care to obtain from Bishop Fenwick testimonial letters entitling him to Christian burial in case of death.

The other commissioner, Mr. Deane, was a good surveyor who knew more about the North East Boundary than any other man in the State, in fact was a fanatic on the subject; but Mr. Kavanagh, by his knowledge of French and his religious sympathy with the Acadian refugees who constituted the great majority of the settlers in the disputed territory, was well qualified to render excellent service to the State on that commission. It may be remarked that this report, like many other documents in the Maine archives, is not merely valuable by

reason of the facts it contains, but is graced by a literary finish that would do honor to the literature of any State.

The summer of 1831 saw Mr. Kavanagh elected to Congress, where he served two terms. His colleagues from Maine were, among others, Evans, Jarvis, McIntire, and Anderson. The two latter gentlemen seem to have been on intimate terms with him.

The "Congressional Globe" contains no set speeches by the member from Maine; in fact he is mentioned as speaking not more than six times during the two sessions and in these instances only briefly on matters connected with his constituents. In the words of Mr. Francis Kavanagh, his nephew, "he was no great speechmaker" and, like the later Senator Proctor, shone more conspicuously in the committee-room than on the floor.

The "Congressional Record" happily is by no means an index of the activity or ability of a Congressman, and there have been many conspicuous examples before and since Kavanagh's time of statesmen who rendered very great service to the nation and yet rarely spoke before the House. It is rather a mark of the sagacity and sureness of this man's mind that throughout his life he consistently refrained from frittering away his time and energy upon lines of activity in which he could not excel, but applied himself to public service in a manner suited to his character. In this his life and fame are in grateful contrast with many well-known men of that period as well as of to-day, whose names are more familiar for their frailties and mistakes, who employed their opportunities and eloquence in fomenting civil strife and dissension, and whose florid oratory was anything but a blessing to the districts they represented or the nation they professed to serve. And unwise indeed was the Congressman, not a born orator of the highest gifts, who entered the lists of debate in the days of Webster, Hayne, Clay, Calhoun, and Benton, men of genius and unparalleled power of expression.

Not that Mr. Kavanagh was at all deficient in the faculty of clear and forcible statement, for his documents and the few

speeches that have come down to us are framed with an Attic terseness and vigor, and even his private correspondence possesses an accuracy of thought, a purity of diction, and a literary elegance that reveal the logical and cultured mind; but his temperament was judicial and correct rather than imaginative and enthusiastic, and along these lines he shaped his career.

It is therefore in his letters that the character of his mind is best discerned. His long and varied correspondence with men prominent in State and national affairs, is replete with interest and of much historical value. These letters show the man as he was: of exquisite courtesy, calm vigor, and wide learning. The letters of many men of that time have remained to blacken their reputations long after they were dead. Mr. Kavanagh's correspondence ever marks the gentleman, and those who wrote to him display a restraint of expression and a carefulness of omission that must have come from a deep respect for his goodness and purity of soul.

His work in Congress is depicted in a contemporary note: "Until this hour," he writes, "I have been most laboriously engaged in procuring and preparing evidence in numerous cases with which I have been entrusted and in corresponding with my immediate constituents, many of whom look to me exclusively for a knowledge of passing events."

One of these correspondents was William King. In the long series of letters to the ex-Governor nearly every topic of State or national importance is related or touched upon. He gives his estimate of Calhoun: "I must confess my belief that there is no man in this Union so well calculated to produce effect on any body of men with whom he may be associated as he, both by his transcendent talents and his fascinating manners." He ranges over the tariff question then occasioning much trouble between North and South, the inevitable Boundary Question, and the French Claims. He paints the stormy scenes of the Jackson administration and the turbulent actors on the Congressional stage, and finally remarks of Calhoun: "He will have necessity to tax his ingenuity of ways

and means to assimilate himself with a body to which under the ordinance of South Carolina he is quasi an alien."

Another letter, to the lamented Jonathan Cilley, who four years later was to fall beneath the bullet of Graves, reveals the habitual nobility of Kavanagh's mind. It was desired to place him in the Senate for the remainder of Mr. Sprague's term, but Kavanagh, after thanking Cilley for the honor thus conferred upon him, declines for the reason that his vote in the House is badly needed on account of the strength of the opposition, while in the Senate one vote will make little difference, and, moreover, because of personal friendship for the man who is expected to unite the party in his favor for the Senatorial seat. It was by a succession of such graceful acts as these that Kavanagh endeared himself to his colleagues and rendered them anxious for his advancement.

Bishop Fenwick of Boston was a prelate of many-sided activity. No good work was started in his vast diocese that did not have his aid and blessing. Holy Cross College and the town of Benedicta, Maine, which flourishes to-day, Catholic to a man, are witnesses to his far-reaching zeal. Nor did he forget the great men who had gone before him. In 1833 we find him writing to Mr. Kavanagh concerning a monument which he wished to erect in memory of Father Rasle, at Norridgewock, on the spot where the heroic Jesuit died, August 23, 1724. Mr. Kavanagh made all arrangements and Bishop Fenwick blessed the shaft on the 109th anniversary of the missionary's martyrdom. It is a part of history that sixty-four years after its erection and 173 years after the death of Father Rasle, this venerable record in stone of a great priest's last sacrifice was again blessed by Bishop Walsh of Portland, and on that occasion Father Campbell paid to his martyred Brother of the Company a tribute which is an imperishable contribution to the Catholic literature of our country.

On the expiration of his second term in Congress, Mr. Kavanagh reached the goal to which he had directed his footsteps fifteen years before, a diplomatic post. He was appointed by President Jackson, *Chargé d'Affaires* at Lisbon, Portugal, and

ranking representative of the United States in that country. His letters of credence were dated May 22, 1835 and he arrived in Lisbon on July 20 of that year and took possession of his office.

The kingdom of Portugal was then, as it is now, in profound and picturesque confusion and its relations with this country were far from satisfactory. While it is not to the purpose to relate the complex and interminable troubles which agitated that monarchy, it should be stated that no commercial treaty with the United States existed and there were pending a large number of claims, some of them dating back to the American Revolution, which had been entirely ignored. The mission of the American representative was twofold: to settle the claims and negotiate a treaty. We shall see how he accomplished it.

Two days after his arrival, Mr. Kavanagh presented his letters to the Duke de Pamella, Minister of Foreign Affairs and opened the subject of American claims, but negotiations had scarcely begun when the ministry resigned. On November 19, 1835 a new one was formed with the Marquis de Soule in the Foreign Office. He put off the claims but entered upon preliminaries for a treaty. There were many difficulties in the way. Great Britain had for years enjoyed preferential trade relations with Portugal and exercised a paramount influence in that country, being the sole power with a commercial treaty. But the Marquis de Soule was not destined to occupy the Foreign Office long, for April 25, 1836, a new ministry came in and his place was taken by the Count Villa Real. Treaty negotiations now lagged, because Portugal wished first to renew the expiring treaty with Great Britain. But revolution stepped in and the ministry took refuge on the British warships in Lisbon harbor. A Liberal program was now inaugurated and the Count de Se Bandeira became Foreign Minister. With this gentleman, Mr. Kavanagh resumed the interrupted negotiations and an agreement was in sight when the ministry was again changed and Manuel de Castor came into the Foreign Office. But patience and perseverance at last prevailed and the claims

began to be paid. In order to appreciate the diplomatic triumph thus obtained it is merely necessary to state that these were probably the first claims that Portugal ever paid to the United States, that when they were paid there was not a cent in the Portuguese treasury and the money was obtained by mortgaging the tobacco tax and discounting the bills at a tremendous loss to the Portuguese government.

The treaty, however, was still in the air, and meanwhile the wheel turned once more and the Count de Se Bandeira for the second time assumed charge of foreign affairs. In March, 1838 another revolution, this time in the army, threw the government into disorder; on the 27th of that month the ministry resigned and Baron Saborra was named for the Foreign Office. In August, 1828, Mr. Kavanagh had the satisfaction of signing a treaty giving to America great trade privileges. In the latter part of the month he went home on leave of absence and while in Maine received from Mr. Forsyth a letter of commendation for his successful work.

Meanwhile there had been changes at Washington, and Mr. Kavanagh, not caring to serve under President Tyler, made preparations to end his stay at Lisbon. In the spring of 1841 he returned to Portugal, closed up his affairs, departed in April, and on June 29 tendered his resignation to Mr. Webster, receiving from him high commendation for his services at Lisbon.

We can enter only remotely into the anxieties of the American Minister representing a nation which was then new and comparatively weak, at the court of an old monarchy rent by civil strife, paralyzed by a kaleidoscopic changing of ministries, and indisposed to consider anything except force. It is difficult to appreciate the position of that lonely man fighting for our merchants and seamen during those long five years and goaded by the misunderstanding pressure of the home government, but considering all that has gone before, and knowing that Mr. Kavanagh, after going through seven changes of ministry and three revolutions during his term of office, left Lisbon with every claim pending at his arrival settled, and the commercial

treaty an accomplished fact, we can at least agree that Daniel Webster was not exaggerating when he wrote June 29, 1841 to Mr. Kavanagh: "In accepting your resignation, the President, who is perfectly aware of the ability displayed by you in the discharge of your official duties and of the success which has crowned the close of your mission, has directed me to express to you his approbation of the judicial and faithful manner in which the public trust committed to your care has been performed."

During his residence in Portugal Mr. Kavanagh kept up a close correspondence with his friends at home, and some of these letters throw curious sidelights on the politics of those days. Rufus McIntire, who had been in Congress with him, wrote to thank him for some port wine, saying: "When it comes to hand I hope to have the pleasure of a glass to your prosperity and more than that, at some day of cracking a bottle or two of it with you at my own house."

Another letter gives us a glimpse into a possible romance. An intimate friend writes: "My wife who is with me, says: tell Kavanagh to marry and bring home a Portuguese lady, for Miss — is too much of a coquette to marry any one." After some remarks which prove him a thoroughgoing Protestant the writer goes on to say: "I hope in mercy the (Portuguese) fish for Lent are not quite as salt as that herring that appeared before you regularly at Miss McCardle's so often. I shall never forget the pure white virgin coat of salt that sparkled over that herring regularly on your plate for forty days."

On his return to Maine, Mr. Kavanagh was almost immediately elected to the State Senate and made president of that body. It was no great promotion for one who had already held such eminent positions, but the conditions demanded a man of moderation and firmness to preside over the Senate, for Maine was in the thick of the Boundary difficulty. A letter written to Kavanagh at this time may throw some light on his action, though there is no evidence that the writer possessed the political confidence to his correspondent: "I congratulate you upon your appointment to the Senate of Maine, which as

things go may not be very acceptable, except as an opening into the Senate at Washington where you might stand up for your friends."

A line in one of Senator Williams' letters to the President of the Senate epitomizes the Boundary situation: "Mr. Webster believes it a favorable time to make a good line and good terms." It was precisely along the lines of Mr. Webster's belief and mainly by his will that the North East Boundary was finally settled as it now stands.

The authorities at Washington were heartily tired of the Boundary question, somewhat indifferent in regard to the 12,000 square miles of woodland in dispute, and determined to settle the matter somehow. Lord Ashburton came over clothed as he thought with full powers, but subsequently found that they were strictly limited.

Maine was determined not to yield a foot of territory. Webster had made up his mind to take the line traced by the King of the Netherlands. The Joint Commission of the Legislature, which had adjourned with the declaration that Maine would never consent to a loss of her territory, convened again on Webster's suggestion and elected four commissioners, Preble and Kavanagh from the Democrats, Otis and Kent from the Whigs, to go to Washington with the commissioners from Massachusetts and treat with the national Government for a conventional line. They took care also to tie the commissioners' hands by instructions.

Preble, the chairman of the commission, was an able but hasty man and had old wounds received in Holland over this same question. The Democrats and the Whigs were at odds as to ways and means, and everything was ripe for an open battle, but finally, through the good offices of Kavanagh, the commissioners met peaceably in Boston and discussed preliminaries. The Massachusetts commission was not vitally concerned and the burden of the trouble fell on the men from Maine.

The commissioners reached Washington in June and the weather was hot. It is amusing now, long after the event, to read over the correspondence of Ashburton, who came here with

the best of intentions to settle the vexed question and round out his three-score and seven with a diplomatic triumph, and instead found himself in a veritable hornets' nest and a broiling Washington summer, with the instructed Maine commission as unyielding as a stone wall, and no prospect of any settlement. "I shall positively not outlive this affair if it is to be much prolonged," writes the harassed peer to Webster. It is plain from the correspondence that Judge Preble had by his manner aggravated the deadlock, and it is equally plain that it was through Mr. Kavanagh that settlement was finally reached, for Ashburton writes to Webster, July 1, 1842: "I have had this morning a long conversation with Mr. Kavanagh and I should like to communicate to you what passed. I found him a sensible, liberal man. We both agree that we should do no good in continuing the negotiations with long controversial memorials, and that we must get, by some shorter cut, to ascertain whether we can agree." After some time Preble returned home and Kavanagh became chairman of the commission. The treaty was made as it now stands. In sorrow and some trepidation the commission reported to the Governor: "With the history of the past before us," they wrote, "and the temper manifested at the time, we could not but perceive how little efficient aid and support Maine had to expect if she persisted in opposition to the almost unanimous wish of the country."

Now that the smoke of politics and the heat of controversy have passed away, and we view this matter in the light of history, I feel convinced that had Edward Kavanagh not been a member of the Maine commission, the deadlock would have continued and the country been involved in war. Not that the rights of his State appealed less strongly to him than to Preble, but he was more of a statesman than a politician and a partisan. He saw when the limit had been reached and adjustment was imperative.

Maine obtained a very good boundary by the treaty and by far the most and best of the land in dispute. If the rabid patriots abused Webster for the terms of settlement, the English Whigs declared that Ashburton had capitulated.

On March 7, 1843, Governor Fairfield having resigned to enter the national Senate, Edward Kavanagh became acting Governor of Maine. Though he held office only from March to December and was most of that time far from well, these nine months were filled with difficult and delicate matters of public moment. The Boundary question was settled on paper but was very far from being settled in fact. There were disputes with the national government, Canada, Massachusetts, and private individuals, and there was pending the Town Court Bill, a very popular measure of exceedingly doubtful benefit to the State.

The Canadian authorities continued to make trouble along the frontier and notwithstanding the disorderly conditions there existing, the Secretary of War decided to withdraw the small garrison at Fort Kent. In this connection a letter from Governor Kavanagh to the President is interesting. He had requested the temporary retention of the troops and had received from Mr. Porter, Secretary of War an abrupt letter stating that the troops were not there to suppress smuggling or enforce education and closing with a reflection upon the people of Maine.

On December 22, a month before his death, the Governor writing to the President concerning the withdrawal of the troops said: "Now, without entering at this time into a further consideration of the subject, I shall content myself simply with the remark that the tone and temper of the last paragraph in the Secretary's communication to me are such as to prevent my acknowledging its receipt to him or having any further communication with him on this or any other subject whatever."

On the same day the Governor vetoed the Town Court Bill though this course was certain to arouse violent opposition.

For many years Mr. Kavanagh had suffered severely from rheumatism and a powerful remedy administered against this disease caused a disorder of the stomach which gave him great pain. All the time he was at Washington on the Treaty commission he was suffering and the letters of the other commissioners mention this with the greatest sympathy. But in spite of physical weakness, consistently with his character he

applied himself unremittingly to the public service and worked up to the week before his death.

There was a plain determination on the part of some Democrats to place Mr. Kavanagh in nomination for the office of Governor in the summer of 1843, and even after the nomination of Hugh Anderson this determination still persisted, and as a matter of fact he received some 3200 votes in that election. It is therefore important to quote a letter written August 2, 1843 to the members of a commission who wanted him to enter the contest, in order to show what sort of a Democrat he was:

“Gentlemen:

The letter which as a commission appointed at a public meeting of the Democratic Party in Augusta you addressed to me under date of the 29 ulto, reached me yesterday and I hasten to reply. I have been made acquainted through the public press with the proceedings of a meeting held by a portion of the Democratic citizens of Augusta in the early part of last month. Being at the capital before it was held, I had an opportunity of conversing with some of the gentlemen who took part in its doings and they have frankly announced in the resolutions which were adopted that the course which it was intended to pursue was not in accord with my wishes and feelings. To them, to two of your number, and to numerous citizens whom I met from various parts of the State, I have explicitly stated my determination to support Mr. Anderson for the office of Governor and that I should do so with the greatest pleasure; having, ever since I gave my first political vote, adhered to and given my humble support to all the regular nominations of the Democratic Party, it would be great inconsistency on my part to encourage, even if I were so disposed in this instance, any proceedings that would conflict with the principles by which I have always been governed.”

On December 28, Mr. Kavanagh communicated to the Maine Secretary of State his resignation as a member of the Senate and his intention to vacate the executive chair on January 1, 1844. At ten o'clock on Sunday evening, Edward Kavanagh died as he had lived, in communion with and fortified by the last sacraments of the Catholic Church. Father Ryan,

who had been for many years his parish priest, assisted at his bedside and committed his remains to the grave.

Formal obituaries, I suppose, fall in much the same class as political recommendations; but on reading over the message announcing Mr. Kavanagh's death one can not but be impressed with the conviction that the sentiments then expressed came from the hearts as well as the heads of these men who had grown old in political life with the man who had passed away and were perfectly familiar with his career and reputation. All these utterances are much too lengthy to be quoted, but there are some brief citations which are illustrative.

The Governor in the course of his Message said:

"The highly responsible duties with which he was charged by the national Government and the numerous important trusts committed to his care by the Government and people of his native State, fully attest the estimation in which his ability and integrity were universally held. The affectionate attachment and regard of those who knew his private worth are enduring testimonials of the purity and excellence of his character."

Mr. French of the Senate said in part, after paying a tribute to Mr. Kavanagh's attainments and success as a statesman:

"As a politician he was an ardent and uncompromising opponent of what he believed to be error and maintained with unflinching firmness and integrity his own convictions of truth and rectitude, yet under all circumstances the purity of his life and the same urbanity which marked his social relations never failed to disarm the prejudices of his opponents and awaken sentiments of personal attachment."

The joint select committee stated among its resolutions:

"The earliest production of this highly esteemed man which was presented to the public was a letter in behalf of liberal principles, and during his whole life the various expressions of his sentiments were in accordance therewith... Integrity and uprightness were with him prominent characteristics... Few men have attained to so much excellence and purity of character, and but seldom are we called to deplore the loss of an individual more justly entitled to our unfeigned regrets."

I find mention in the "Portland Argus" of January 28, 1844 of a prayer delivered by the Chaplain of the Senate which speaks of his "unbending integrity, the frankness of his manners, the purity of his character, and the daily beauty of his life."

There is a remarkable unanimity of statement in all these tributes by different men concerning a rare quality which they ascribe to the dead Governor: *the purity of his character*. Stainless and undeniable must that quality have been to call forth its emphatic mention, not merely often in his life, but at the hour of his death, among men, who, whatever admiration and regret might have prompted them to say, would never have dared to accord to him this epitaph unless he had richly deserved it. Small, indeed, is the number of our eminent statesmen of that age of whom such a statement could be made in the terms of the above-mentioned speeches, and this fact alone is sufficient to give him a place apart among the great men of this nation.

Among Maine men generally his career has been regarded as a fascinating and mysterious success, but there does not seem to be much mystery about it. He was an eminently gifted man and cultured far above the great majority of his contemporaries. His integrity was so manifest that it compelled honor. He grappled friends to his soul "with hooks of steel," and lastly as the late Bishop Healy remarked, speaking of that time: "There were giants in those days." King and Preble, Otis, Kent and Evans, whatever their faults or deficiencies, were not small men. They possessed in an eminent degree that solid New England sense of justice, which taken at its best is one of the noblest traits a people can have.

Moreover, there is no doubt that Mr. Kavanagh was endowed with that irresistible magnetism, that overwhelming charm of manner, that are indissolubly linked with the name of Mr. Blaine, as well as a steadfastness of principle and a fidelity to friends that characterized that other great Maine man, Thomas B. Reed. When one combines in his personality such qualities as these, no matter where he was born or what religion he professes, human nature must be true to itself and honor him.

Yet withal, he was of such singular modesty that he would never sit for a portrait, and when his picture was sought for the gallery of Maine Governors, the artist was obliged to compose an ideal portrait, based on the pictures of his sister, Miss Kavanagh, and the Rev. Father Blenkinsop, who both resembled him closely.

He never married, and except for the playful words of a single letter there is no hint of a romance of the heart in his life.

These are the bare outlines of a singularly full and noble life, which I think should be better known to the Catholic young men of this country, for it is an eminent example of the fact that a man of power may reach a high place in the political world without prostituting his honor or compromising his Faith.

For some years I have studied the career of this man, examined every particle of his correspondence within my reach, investigated the files of old journals, interrogated all who might know something of his personality or history, and each year has added to the conviction that in his sphere and in the lines of activity which he marked out for himself and followed, he was one of the greatest Catholics that America has yet produced.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote his name forever on the scroll of fame by affixing his signature to the Declaration of Independence, and for this act of signal heroism no honor is too high.

Commodore Barry won his glory in many a hard fought battle and that glory is secure. Both these men have received their reward in the acclamations of posterity.

But Catholic America can ill afford to exclude from her Hall of Fame this sterling son of New England who well deserves a niche among her noblest figures. She has her heroes and they are many, nature's noblemen all, but the great majority of them fought their battles in the ranks and not among the leaders, and their guerdon must await the final grand accounting. The highest places in this world's history must be awarded to the exceptional men who had rare opportunities and utilized them grandly before the world with the highest power of their souls.

Edward Kavanagh fought his way from a remote town in an outlying province of Massachusetts through the Councils of his native State to Congress; through five years of exceedingly difficult diplomatic work at Lisbon to Washington on the Treaty Commission and finally to the Executive Chair of Maine, an unflinching Catholic when the very name was abhorred, yet in all that time in private letter or public print or from the lips of the oldest inhabitant I have never seen or heard one word against his fair fame on account of his religion. His open adherence to the Catholic Church was a tradition of his State from the first and yet the people of that State gave him honors with both hands as long as he lived. I doubt if there is a parallel to this career in the American annals of that century. We see only the results: the laurels laid upon his brow, the universal testimonials to his integrity and character, the lingering tradition of his stately grace of manner; but the irresistible will behind it all, the magnificent perseverance that won him his place in Puritan New England in 1843 must remain for us a matter of conjecture.

In the placid old village on the Damariscotta which is ever associated with his name, in the little Catholic churchyard, under the shadow of the venerable temple of God where he worshipped as a boy, rest the ashes of this remarkable man, this Christian statesman, whom no Catholic in this Union can ever afford to forget while unflinching adherence to the Faith, lofty principle, and stainless honor constitute a right to lasting remembrance.

It has been the proud privilege of Maine, poor in material wealth and remote from the great centers of industrial activity, to bring forth from among her rugged hills in every generation of her existence, men whose fame is co-extensive with the nation. Among these sons of the Pine Tree State and in the first rank of Catholic Americans would I place Edward Kavanagh, for as the speaker in the capital said when the news of his death reached the State House: "Goodness, virtue, and honor have wrought for him a mantle which malice, nor the world's selfishness, nor cankering envy hath never stirred."

THE CAPUCHINS IN AMERICA.

BY REV. OTTO JERON, O.M. CAP.

[To the Very Rev. Father Antonine, Provincial of the Calvarian Province, we are indebted for permission to publish the following history of his Order in North America. The author, Fr. O. Jeron, was not permitted to finish this work, in which he took great interest. He died August 14, 1907. But, though incomplete, the work contains so much valuable matter of interest to our readers, that they will join us in thanking the Very Rev. Father Provincial for his courtesy.—C. G. H.]

It is sufficiently known that St. Francis of Assisi laid the foundation of a great religious Order, about 1206, generally known to the Christian world by the name "Franciscans." The Order, consequently, is 700 years old, and its rule, written by the holy founder himself, and approved of by Innocent III, probably April 23, 1209, is essentially in full force throughout the entire Order even at the present time. Some fourteen years later, when the Order had greatly increased, St. Francis handed down a shorter form of this same rule and obtained its confirmation from Honorius III on November 29, 1223.¹

In these 700 years the Order has undergone many reforms. A strong and insatiable yearning after the primitive spirit of evangelic abnegation has been a constant and marked blessing of the seraphic Order, inherited, it seems, from its father and founder, and has produced within it over and over again heroic efforts to return, as much as the time permits, to the original severity. One of these efforts in 1525, resulted in the establishment of the Capuchin reform (Father General styles it "*reformatio nostra*")², and the official name is *Ordo Minorum Capuccinorum*, which, consequently, is approaching the fourth centenary of its existence.

¹ The Writings of St. Francis, P. P. Robinson, O.M., 1906, p. 25.

² Anal. Cap., 1905, p. 15.

The man who initiated this reform was Father Matteo da Bassi, of the Strict Observantine Franciscans. Guided, as the sequel revealed, by the Holy Ghost, he began to lead a somewhat eremitical life, to grow his beard, to go barefoot, and to wear that form of the capuche which according to an ancient tradition was worn by all the followers of St. Francis originally. At first, his novel ideas did not meet with approval. Furthermore, the Augustinian friar, Martin Luther, had just eight years before (October 31, 1517) apostatized from the Catholic Church, and Rome now more than ever took all precaution to examine every innovation. Yet Father Matthew stood firm; an old hermit at Cartozzetto had predicted: "Men shall strive against thee and make war upon thee, but no one shall overcome thee, for the Lord will be thy deliverer." God, who allowed enemies to arise against the new Franciscan branch, also called advocates to help their cause, especially Cardinal Caraffa, who in later years ruled the Church as Paul IV, and a pious lady, Princess Catherine Cibo of Camerino, niece of the reigning Pontiff Clement VII, and her noble consort, Duke John. The sister of Duke John, Baptista Varani, abbess of the Order of St. Clare, *i. e.*, the Second Order of St. Francis, also spoke in favor of the new reform.³ Matthew saw recruits flocking to his standard in spite of all severity, and they obtained formal recognition as a separate branch of the Order by a papal letter.⁴ As a provisional arrangement the new body was placed under the Conventual Fathers. It is recorded that the delegation who had obtained the brief of recognition, on their return journey from Rome became the instrument for the naming of the new branch; the little children in the streets of the Italian city Camerino, when beholding for the first time the beards and long hoods of these friars, ran after them, all curiosity and excitement, with shrill cries of "capuccio," *i. e.*, cowl, hood, or perhaps "capuccini," *i. e.*, men wearing a pointed hood or capuche. In this way the Order was baptized by the

³ Anal. Cap., 1906, 240.

⁴ *Religionis zelus*, Bullar., 1. 3; *Geschichte der Päpste*, Pastor, iv. 2, p. 635. July 3, 1528.

Italian laity, and the name has distinguished it ever since. Ecclesiastically, in the beginning, the new reform had been called "Franciscan Hermits," and the name "Capuccinus" occurs for the first time in a papal brief of April 9, 1534.

The first Capuchin monastery in the world was established outside the city gates of Camerino, near a chapel dedicated to St. Christopher, and the number of its inmates increasing, a second small friary was opened at the abandoned convent of St. Jerome at Colmenzone, three miles distant; a third and new, but very humble cloister was erected at Monte Melone. After one year (1529) the first general chapter was convened at Alvacena, at which constitutions were drawn up, which successive chapters have enlarged and brought into accord with the development of canon law, the requirements of changed circumstances of time and things, and the old seraphic severity. The last general chapter (1896) busied itself with a revision of the present constitutions; the Sacred Congregation, however, has postponed the solution of the difficulties till the coming chapter, which may be in 1908.

In the year 1535 a general chapter convened at Rome; our first historian, Zach. Boverius († 1638), reports of its doings.⁸ "At the chapter of 1535," Boverius says,⁹ "The General and the other Fathers charged with the more important business of the Order established provinces and assigned limits to the same, and also appointed provincials..." It appears that the Capuchins, seven years only having elapsed since their institution, already had twelve provinces in Italy.

But the "enemy came and oversowed cockle among the wheat, and went his way." Few religious movements within the Church have met with more strenuous and apparently in-

⁸ *Annales, sive sacræ Capucc. Ordinis historiae*, i, p. 204; his work comprises the Capuchin history till 1612; Marcellinus of Pisa wrote a continuation till 1634; 1737 an appendix was published by Sylvester of Milan; the present Father General is preparing a new, complete, and reliable history for the fourth centenary of the Order according to *Anal. Cap.* 1905, p. 15.

⁹ l. c.

¹ Matt. xiii, 25.

surmountable opposition than did that of the Capuchins in the first years of its existence. The one who had begun the Order withdrew from it in 1537; his successor in the office of vicar-general quitted the religious state, and a third prominent Capuchin even apostatized from the Faith. Thus, in 1543, when the new Superior assembled over 200 of his faithful subjects at Assisi, the future seemed very gloomy. "Misericordiæ Domini, quia non sumus consumpti," "the mercies of the Lord, that we are not consumed," we may exclaim with the lamenting Jeremias.* The Pope, Paul III, first planned the suppression of the new reform, but then contented himself with a prohibition to spread beyond Italy,⁹ and a general injunction not to preach (1543); this latter measure, however, was annulled two years later.

In 1546 and again in 1562, during the Council of Trent, the Observantine reform attempted a reunion with the new Capuchin reform; at that time, however, the Capuchins were not in favor of it. On May 6, 1574, Pope Gregory XIII, by the Constitution "*Ex Nostri*,"¹⁰ revoked the prohibition of Paul III, and soon, like the grain of mustard-seed, the Capuchin reform grew and extended its branches throughout the entire world: France (Paris) received the first Capuchins outside of Italy; Spain (Barcelona) followed in 1578, Switzerland (Altorf) in 1581; the first German Capuchin monastery was opened at Innsbruck on invitation of Archduke Ferdinand II and his pious wife, Anna Catharine of Mantua, by personal command of Pope Clement VIII, in September, 1593.¹¹ The first Capuchin who came to England seems to have been Father Benedict of Canfield, in 1599.¹² The year 1619 witnessed another papal favor for the new reform, Paul V freeing them from all dependence on the other branches of the great Franciscan Order, whilst in 1608 Paul IV, and in 1627 Urban VIII authoritatively declared that the Capuchins are genuine sons

* Lam. III. 22.

⁹ Bullar., Ord. I, p. 22, Jan. 3, 1537.

¹⁰ Bullar., Ord. V, p. 1.

¹¹ Hetzenauer, *Kapuzinerkloster zu Innsbruck*, Kap. I.

¹² Flowers from the Franciscan Crown, St. Lawrence, append.

of St. Francis, from whom they derive their foundation. From that time to this the Capuchin branch of the Franciscan tree has steadily flourished and has been productive of an immense amount of good in the Church. It has given to her altars some of the finest types of Franciscan holiness. Canonized Capuchins are: St. Felix of Cantalicio, a lay Brother, † 1587; St. Seraphin of M. Granario, a lay Brother, † 1604; St. Joseph of Leonissa, a missionary in Turkey, † 1612; St. Lawrence of Brindisi, Minister-General, † 1619; St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen, missionary and martyr, † 1622.

Beatified Capuchins are: Bl. Benedict of Urbino, a priest, † 1625; Bl. Angelus and Bl. Agathangelus, French missionaries and martyrs, † 1638; Bl. Bernard of Corleone, a lay Brother, † 1667; Bl. Bernard of Offida, a lay Brother, † 1694; Bl. Angelus of Acri, a priest, † 1738; Bl. Crispin of Viterbo, a lay Brother, † 1750; Bl. Felix of Nicosia, a lay Brother, † 1787; Bl. Diego of Cadiz, a priest, † 1801. The Sacred Congregation has the beatification of many others under consideration.

The Capuchin Order has given to the Catholic schools and pulpits men second to none in learning and sacred eloquence, and the "Order of Studies," compiled by the Minister-General Seraphin in 1753 and approved of by Pope Benedict XIV¹³ is by no means a dead letter, as the ordinances of the general chapter¹⁴ in 1884 prove. The more prominent Capuchins in dogmatic theology are Fr. Valerian Magnus († 1661), whose works against the Protestant religion are considered especially strong; Fr. Octavius Worst of Amsterdam († 1671), a defender of the papal primacy; Fr. Gaudentius of Brixen († about 1678); Fr. Charles Jos. Tricassinus († 1681), a theologian of great renown and commentator on St. Augustine; Fr. Thomas of Charmes († 1765); Fr. Jeremias of Benettis († 1774), another defender of the rights and privileges of the Roman Pontiff; Fr. Viator of Cocaleo († 1793), etc.

In moral theology, Fr. Jacob of Corella († 1699) excels, whose "*Praxis Confessionalis*" was printed in three languages

¹³ Bullar., Ord. viii, 269-277.

¹⁴ No. 14. 15.

and had thirty editions; the "Epitome" of Fr. Francis of Goritia († 1784) is esteemed even in our days.

Regarding ascetic theology, we mention Fr. Anubrose Lombez († 1778), whose treatise "Interior Peace" was translated into almost every modern language; Fr. Bernardine of Piquigny († 1709) based his writings almost exclusively on Holy Scripture.

At the present time the following Capuchins occupy an honorable place amongst the heroes of theology: Fr. Albert Knoll (a Bulsano, Doctor of theology and canon law, † 1863), Fr. Hilary of Paris, Fr. Angelus Stummer of Wippenheim, Fr. Michael Hetzenauer (Doctor of theology, professor in the Papal University, S. Apollinaris), Fr. Augustin M. Ilg († 1881), Fr. Boniface Soengen of Mainz († 1887), Fr. Hilary of Sexten, Fr. Hilary Felder of Luzern (Doctor of theology), Fr. Angelicus Eberl (the able Bavarian historian), etc. Cardinal Massajé, by personal command of Leo XIII, wrote the history of his thirty-five years' mission work in Ethiopia, and the present Capuchin Cardinal, Jos. Cal. Vives, has enriched the world with numerous works of dogmatic and moral theology, canon law, and history. Fr. Bernard Christen, our present General, and Fr. Fulgentius Hinterlechner, one of the six Definitors-General, also are conspicuous in the field of Catholic literature.

It is easily understood that the Capuchin, styled by a contemporary Jesuit "the Bossuet of the people," finds a rich field for cultivation in the literature and eloquence of the pulpit. Fr. Procop of Teplin († 1680), Fr. Martin of Cochem († 1712), that celebrated friend of so many Catholic homes, Fr. Vincent of Thuille († 1878) and his brother Bernardine († 1893), Fr. Eusebius of Montesanto († 1884), who preached several sermons to the Fathers of the Vatican Council, and others were prominent Capuchin pulpit orators. Fr. Bruno Auracher, of the Bavarian Province, preached the Lenten sermons at Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1907. The veritable rich treasures of the "*Aurifodina Universalis*," known to many who studiously and conscientiously write their sermons, was compiled

by French Capuchins. In 1743 the Capuchin Order acquired by the decree "*Inclitum Fratrum*" of Benedict XIV¹⁶ the unique distinction, that the Apostolic-Preacher (*Concionator Apostolicus*), i. e., the Advent and Lenten preacher to the Papal Court, be selected from it, and since that time up to the present day about twenty-five Capuchins have occupied this pulpit.¹⁶ At present Fr. Pacificus of the Tuscan province occupies this honorable office.

Among the other dignitaries of the Church our Order had eight Cardinals, two of whom will be spoken of hereafter: Card. Persico (1870-72, bishop of Savannah, Georgia), and the above-mentioned Card. Vives, each of whom spent several years in the New World. A great number of Capuchins were members of one or the other Sacred Roman Congregations: a list¹⁷ enumerates ninety-eight consultors, two qualificators, and one secretary from 1734-1895. More than eighty Capuchins became bishops, and about fifteen were promoted to archbishoprics. Many Capuchins persistently and successfully declined all ecclesiastical honors.

The state of the Capuchin branch to-day is, taking into consideration the circumstances of the times, highly creditable, and full of hope for the future. It comprises at present fifty-five provinces, with 565 convents and 166 hospices. The total number of Religious, on January 1, 1907, was 10,050. This is not as great a membership as in the year 1775, when in its most flourishing condition the Order numbered 31,157 members, distributed in sixty-four provinces. However, during the last years a slow but steady increase is noticeable; in 1888 there were only 7500, now the 10,000 mark is crossed again.

The number of priests is 4961, of whom 643 are missionaries in heathen countries, 1902 clerics are preparing for holy priesthood, whilst 3187 sanctify themselves as lay Brothers, of which number 255 assist the Fathers in the foreign missions. The members of the Order are of all nationalities; "out of

¹⁶ Anal. Cap., 1896, p. 356.

¹⁷ Helmbucher, *Die Orden der kath. Kirche*, I. 315.

¹⁸ Anal. Cap., 1895, p. 313.

every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation"¹⁸ the Lord has called us, from every position in the world. "Next to the Jesuits perhaps no religious congregation has seen within its ranks so many persons of distinguished birth," Hurter states;¹⁹ the Capuchin capuche has mingled with the ermine and the lawn of the stateliest courts in Europe in the heyday of their pride.

THE CAPUCHIN MISSIONARY

THE Middle Ages were above all ages of faith, piety, and enthusiasm. It was the age which organized the Crusades and built the Gothic cathedrals. It was the age of saints, when kings and emperors emulated the inhabitants of the cloister in the pursuit of Christian perfection; the saints, we dare say, were the heroes of the day.

The Middle Ages were also a time of social unrest, and among the people was found the strangest mixture of faith and vice. Happily, they listened to the voices of the saints, and improved and advanced in virtue by following their words and example; a deep and serious earnestness and zeal began to take root. The spirit of discontent with the prevailing conditions revealed itself, and several attempts at social reform were made. Deluded leaders even found numbers of adherents; but God's grace directed the minds of many toward one man, St. Francis of Assisi. St. Francis had started his religious life in a hermit's garb, yet his intention never had been to establish a community of hermits or a mere contemplative Order. His contemporary, Matthew of Paris (in *Chronica Majora*, written 1226), says: "*Beatus Franciscus perfectissime adhaesit Christo . . .*" i. e., "The Blessed Francis most perfectly adhered to Christ imitating the life of the apostles and following in their footsteps." On the feast of St. Mathias the Apostle, February 24, 1209, he heard, at Mass, the commission which Our Lord gave to His apostles to preach the gospel; this impressed itself upon

¹⁸ Apoc. v. 9.

¹⁹ *Kirchenlexikon*, iv. 133.

him. Immediately after Mass he proceeded to ask for an explanation of that gospel; and having understood that Christ had really commanded them, without caring for the ordinary necessities of human life, to go and preach the kingdom of God and penance, he, at once, rejoicing in his heart, exclaimed: "*Hoc est quod volo, hoc est quod quaero, hoc totis medullis cordis facere concupisco...*"²⁰ i. e., "This I desire, this I seek for, this I yearn to do with all my energy." Without hesitation he fulfilled the advice of Our Lord most perfectly; he cast away the little he possessed and began to preach the kingdom of God with great fervor and enthusiasm.

On April 16, 1209, the first two companions joined him, and St. Bonaventure wrote, about fifty years later,²¹ that the saint pointed out to them the apostolic life as the sole norm of life for themselves and for their future brethren. When their number had increased to eight, the holy man, again imitating Christ, sent them forth, two and two, to preach, saying: "Let us consider, my dearest brethren, our vocation: God has, most mercifully, called us not for our own salvation only, but for the benefit of many."²² They returned with good and joyous tidings of their marvelous success.

Thus St. Francis had selected the active religious life for his Order. But the arch-enemy of the kingdom of God seemed to foresee the achievements of the new army of missionaries, and overwhelmed them with trials and temptations: "Is it not better to withdraw from the public and to pray in the solitude of the monastic cell?" was the tempting thought of St. Francis himself and of some of his brethren. St. Bonaventure (ch. 12) relates the spiritual struggle; it ended with the persuasion: Our vocation is to gain the souls for God, whilst Satan tries to snatch them for hell.

"*Praeco sum Magni Regis,*" "I am the herald of the great king," St. Francis had said to the burglars in the woods; he had thereby well expressed the aim and destination of his

²⁰ Thomas a Celano, *legenda prima*, cp. 9.

²¹ *Leg. S. Franc.*

²² *Leg. iii*, Soc. cp. 8.

whole Order, which Pope Honorius III²³ spoke of in the following clear terms: "...serendo semina verbi Dei, Apostolorum exemplo, diversas circumeant mansiones..." i. e., "imitating the example of the Apostles let them go forth among the people sowing the word of God." Leo XIII (Nov. 25, 1898) in a letter gave testimony that he entertained the same opinion of St. Francis and his followers: "*De B. Francisco patre deque alumnis ejus praestantissimis memoriae est proditum, se totos populo dedere et in salute publica operam ponere acri diligentia solitos*,"²⁴ i. e., "it is handed down by tradition, that the blessed Father Francis and his most true followers sacrifice themselves totally for the people and with their whole energy labor for the people's spiritual welfare."

St. Francis brilliantly displayed his zeal for the salvation of souls in the year 1219; at the chapter he directed his brethren to France, Germany, Hungary, and Spain,²⁵ and traveled personally to Syria. There he received the news that his Order had gained the first missionary martyrs in Morocco (SS. Bernard, Peter, Accursius, Adjutus, and Otho), and in holy joy he exclaimed: "Now I verily know, that I have five Friars Minor" ("*Nunc scio vere, me habere quinque Fratres Minores*").²⁶ It was the mind of our Father, St. Francis, that the vocation for real missionary-work is one of the highest degree of seraphic perfection, and it remains the *pars melior*, the more exalted aim of the Order up to our times, the one of which those canonized in the Order have never lost sight.

It is a well known fact, that Columbus belonged to the Third Order of St. Francis, and that the great discoverer of our continent, when a homeless and distressed wanderer, found shelter at the door of the Franciscan Convent Santa Maria de la Rabida; the Father Guardian there, Juan Perez de Marchena, strengthened and animated him in his plans, and so powerfully

²³ June 11, 1219; Wadding, ann. 1219, 28.

²⁴ Anal. Cap., 1898, 353.

²⁵ Jordanus, Chronica n. 3.

²⁶ Cf. Dilucidationes in Statutum Missionum, Fr.M.Cap., P. Antonin, 1893, p. 7.

aided him at the royal court of Spain, that he was ultimately enabled to realize his fondly-cherished idea. Pope Alexander VI by letter dated June 25, 1493²⁷ nominated the Franciscan Provincial, Bernard Boyl, first Vicar-Apostolic of the New World; but alas, the Spanish government sent another priest of the same name; Father Perez, however, actually accompanied Columbus on his second voyage by royal appointment as astronomer.²⁸ The worthy friend of Columbus and his companions were the first to exercise the ministry of the Catholic priesthood upon the shores of America. To describe the magnificent work done in the New World by the whole Order of St. Francis during the 400 years since the discovery, is not our intention at present.

The Capuchin reform has always faithfully followed the same path. "*Capuccinos Fratres merito valde diligimus.... quod in vinea Domini strenue laborant,*" i. e., "indeed, we love the Capuchin Friars much, because they work strenuously in the vineyard of the Lord," Pope Urban VIII stated June 18, 1633.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century the missions confided to the care of the Capuchins were in the most flourishing condition,²⁹ in proportion to the membership of the Order. In 1782 the Order had 523 missionary stations, 225 in Europe, 44 in Asia, 26 in Africa, 228 in America, in charge of French, Spanish, Italian, and German Capuchins. Yet the anti-religious attitude adopted soon after by various governments and the general anti-Catholic spirit which gained headway, ruined the activity of the Order to such a degree, that for some time the situation seemed almost desperate. Help was at hand: the Capuchin missionary, Eugene de Rumelly, founded the mission-college of Lyons in France, and after being elected Minister-General of the whole Capuchin Order (1838) that of St. Fidelis, the Capuchin proto-martyr, at Rome. This was confirmed by the Propaganda, August 1, 1841. The Sacred Congregation

²⁷ Facsimile, Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. I, p. 412.

²⁸ Rec. of Am. Cath. Soc. of Phila., vol. x, p. 309.

²⁹ Anal. Cap., III, p. 19.

issued special statutes for the same,³⁰ which are still in force. A storm swept over the Capuchin missions, when, in 1858, a decree of the Propaganda changed the method of their administration—a measure that had evil results, which were due to a wrong interpretation of this decree by some of the Fathers in the missions. In 1884 the missions were again subject to the Father-General. This change was due principally to the prudent and enthusiastic zeal of Fr. General Bernard Christen—elected 1884, re-elected 1896—and the personal exertions of the eminent Capuchin missionary William Cardinal Massaja. On August 20, 1887, Father-General promulgated the new "*Statutum pro Missionibus*," extensive instructions on the way of conducting the missions, approved by the Propaganda August 17.³¹

In 1883 the Fr. General Aegidius a Cortona had established a special novitiate for our missions at Budjah, near the city of Smyrna in Asia Minor, for which a seraphic seminary was erected by our present Fr. General, at St. Stephano, near Constantinople. The seminary and novitiate together are now known as "*Institutum Apostolicum Orientis*."

By these means the Order is well prepared to meet with the exigencies of missionary work, and to be successful. On April 23, 1906, the Congregation of the Propaganda wrote: "Every year the report of the missions confided to the illustrious Order of the Capuchins becomes more worthy of attention and more consoling for this Congregation; . . . these pages reveal more and more the apostolic spirit of zeal and self-denial, which animates and guides the worthy sons of St. Francis among immense difficulties, so that they are able to obtain a rich harvest. Neither earthquake and pestilence in India, nor persecutions and obstinate indifference which the missionaries encounter here and there, have proved able to retard the salvation of souls nor to deter the missionaries from their apostolic ministry, as they reposed their confidence in the goodness of Almighty God, who will never desert His servants. . ."

³⁰ Sept. 3, 1841, Bullar. Cap. x. 100 ss.

³¹ Anal. Cap., vol. III, p. 257.



At present, January 1, 1907, the Order is in charge of the following missions:³² in Europe, several districts of Turkey and Greece; in Asia, East India, Arabia, Persia, Syria, Asia Minor; in Africa, the country of the Galla negroes, Erythraea and the Seychelles Islands; in Australia, Borneo, the Caroline and Philippine Islands; in America, almost every state of South America, Porto Rico, and the Micmac Indian tribe in Canada.

The official table shows 866 Capuchins working in these districts, 609 of whom are priests; 1000 Sisters of various congregations assist the Capuchins; about three millions of Catholics live in our missions, dispersed among about 130 millions of heathens or heretics; 444 Catholic schools, sixty-six orphan asylums and forty-seven colleges are under our charge, which give instruction to 30,000 scholars. In 1891, when only 279 Capuchin Fathers with eighty-seven Brothers were charged with missionary work, a critic in the "*Stimmen aus Maria Laach*" (p. 127) remarked: "It may be justly asserted that, since the sixteenth century, the Order of Capuchins has occupied a conspicuous place in the missionary field of the Catholic Church. . . . What an amount of labor, privations, and sacrifices is contained in the dry figures. . . ." That is indeed true. And the field of labor is so wide, that we may well quote the saying of Jesus:³³ "The harvest indeed is great, but the laborers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth laborers into His harvest."

When, in 1565, Menendez sailed from Cadiz, eleven Franciscan Fathers joined his strong fleet;³⁴ the result of that expedition was the foundation of St. Augustine in Florida, a city of which Bancroft says (I, 69): "It is by more than forty years the oldest town in the United States." The Capuchin Order was then in its infancy. When (1582) the Franciscan Fathers founded the second oldest city, Santa Fé in New Mexico, but nine years had elapsed since the Capuchins were permitted to spread beyond the limits of Italy. Finally, in 1617, the

³² Anal. Cap., 1907, p. 80.

³³ Matt. ix. 37, 38.

³⁴ Shea, Col. Days, p. 135.



Pope gave to our Order a constitution, and a few years later we find the first Capuchins on American soil, and witness also these youngest sons of St. Francis shedding their blood side by side with other Religious Orders. Since then the Capuchin branch has not ceased to labor faithfully in America, and our own days bear witness of this.

The work performed by the Capuchin Order in the New World is not, strictly speaking, missionary work; there exist several regularly established provinces, custodies, etc., all of which will be spoken of hereafter.

A glance at the map shows us three sections of Indies, and South America; of these three we shall speak in three sections: I. Section, North America; II. Section, Central America and the West Indies; III. Section, South America.

PART I

NORTH AMERICA

- Chapter I. French Capuchin Pioneers in Acadia (1630).
- Chapter II. French and Spanish Capuchins in Louisiana (1720-1803).
- Chapter III. The Capuchins and the War of American Independence (1778-1783).
- Chapter IV. The first English and German Capuchins in the United States (1780). With an appendix.
- Chapter V. Ignatius, Cardinal Persico, O.M.Cap., Bishop of Savannah, Georgia, 1870-1873.
- Chapter VI. Capuchins at Keshena, Wis.

CHAPTER I

FRENCH CAPUCHIN PIONEERS IN ACADIA (1630)

"This is the forest primeval," the country of Evangeline, to which we invite the kind reader. Sad is the tale of Longfellow, sad is also our tale of the fate of the Capuchins in Acadia; but glorious, in both instances, is the moral strength and immovable virtue of the Catholic heroes.

The noble Samuel de Champlain, governor of New France, had explored Acadia in 1604. It comprised the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in the present Dominion of Canada, and the American State of Maine, and extended from Chaleur Bay on the northern shore of New Brunswick to the river Kennebec in Maine. The center of the French colony which settled there was Port-Royal, called in our days Annapolis, on the Bay of Fundy, but bearing at that time the name "*la baie française*." In the beginning Jesuit Fathers had been there, and it is interesting to read Father Biard's, S.J., description of a part of that country: "the soil is rich, the port and harbor near the mouth of the Penobscot are fine, and several rivers, broad and pleasant, which abound in fish, empty there."²⁵ This was in 1610. "A rude field of mingled toil and woe," the mission was styled later on; affairs did not prosper. The Jesuits left Port Royal 1613, and began a new settlement on the Penobscot. It lived but four months. In cruel and barbarous fashion the infamous freebooter, Argall, from Virginia, surprised the mission, swooped down upon it, and left it a ruin.²⁶ The historian Raynal reports²⁷ that, in 1626, there were just three miserable villages, surrounded by palisades, of about fifty inhabitants each in Acadia.

But immigration to the New World increased; English Puritans flocked in great numbers to New England, and there-

²⁵ The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, edited by R. G. Thwaites, vol. iii, p. 271.

²⁶ Hist. Records and Studies, U. S. C. Hist. Soc., 1904, p. 366.

²⁷ Histoire des établiss. des Europ. vi, 15.

fore the Papal Nuncio of Belgium advised the Propaganda to provide for New France. Thereupon the Propaganda, November 22, 1630, ordained, that the Procurator-General of our Order, together with the Capuchin Fr. Joseph at Paris, should organize a Capuchin mission in Acadia, "to prevent the progress of Puritanism and to strengthen the deserted Catholic settlers."

This Fr. Joseph, of the noble family du Tremblay, was a man of great activity and prudence. Cardinal Richelieu, the powerful prime-minister and in reality the ruler of France at that period, called him "his right hand," and the wits of the day surnamed the Capuchin "The Gray Eminence," "*L'Eminence Grise*."³⁸ The Bullarium Capuccinorum (v. 50, ss.) contains a very complete narrative of the life of this excellent Capuchin and states that he deserves to be called "the founder of the Capuchin missions in the Orient and in Canada." He came very near being an "Eminence" more than by surname, as King Louis XIII of France presented his name for promotion to the Cardinalate, June 6, 1636. The Vatican objected on the ground that the Capuchin Order already had a Cardinal in the person of the Pope's own brother, Antonio Barberini. Louis XIII repeated his petition, but Fr. Joseph died Dec. 18, 1638. Cardinal Richelieu wrote the following epitaph for his friend:

Aeternæ memoriæ

R. P. Joseph Parisini Le Clerc Capuccini.

Hic jacet, cujus virtus nunquam jacebit,
Qui, ut jugum Domini ab adolescentia portaret,
Nobilis prosapiæ titulos et opes,

Invitis Parentibus reliquit,
In pauperrimo Ordine pauperrimus semper extitit,
Ecclesiam scriptis et concionibus illustravit,
Provincialis officio in Ordine,
Tam sancte quam prudenter functus,
Ad publica negotia, ita disponente Deo,
A Christianissimo Ludovico vere Justo Vocatus,

³⁸ Cantu, *Allg. Weltgeschichte*, vol. II, p. 27.

Quo munere Deo, Regi et Patriae,
 Fideliter inserviens
 Summi ingenii prudentiam et curam
 Cum Seraphica devotione, et mira Spiritus
 Tranquillitate composuit.
 Integram promissae regulae observantiam,
 A tribus licet Summis Pontificibus
 Pro totius Ecclesiae bono legitime dispensatus,
 Ad ultimum vitae retinuit;
 Haeresim consiliis et Missionibus in Gallia
 Et Anglia oppugnavit;
 Orientis Christianos erexit,
 Inter curiae delicias et opes austerus et pauper,
 Vixit et mortuus est
 Cardinalis designatus
 XIV. Kal. Jan.
 An. Dom. MDCXXXVIII.

Cardinal Bentivoglio appointed Fr. Joseph and Fr. Leonard prefects of the first Capuchin North-American Mission, May 31, 1632, and the Fathers of the Parisian Province, after some hesitation, fearing to arouse the ill-feelings of the Recollects (another branch of the Franciscan Order), finally were commissioned to provide for Acadia. Their first impression of the country is disclosed in a letter of Fr. Ivo: "...*un pays désert, stérile, ou les hommes sont aussi sauvages que les bêtes, et qui n'ont aucune pratique de religion,*" i. e., "a barren wilderness, where the inhabitants are as savage as animals and have no religious practices."

On July 4, 1632, the first three Capuchins sailed from Auray in France on Razilly's vessel "*L'Espérance en Dieu*" (i. e., Hope in God), together with several French colonists. Three more Capuchins followed on a second vessel on the same day. In August they landed in Acadia and selected Port Royal as mission-center. The commander Razilly died a few years after, and was succeeded by Charles de Menou, Seigneur d'Aulnay de Chanasay, as governor of Acadia. The latter

brought numerous French settlers to his province. As already stated above, Port Royal with the old Fort Pontrincourt was the center of the colony; two other more important points were the settlement Pentagouet with the Fort de St. Pierre, near the mouth of the Penobscot River, in Maine, and the post on the river St. John. The French colonists were principally fishermen; many came from France regularly for the summer months and returned in autumn with a rich booty of codfish. Razilly and d'Aulnay based their colonization on Christianity, and attained thereby the happiest results. The conversion of the Indians on one hand, the preservation of faith and morality among the French on the other, were the chief aims of the missionaries. A report of the Capuchin Superior, Ignatius, 1656, to the Roman Congregation of the Propaganda—printed as appendix to the official documents of the Canadian government, in 1904—a pamphlet “Port Royal en 1650” by the Capuchin Father Candidus, published 1906, and “Storia delle Missioni dei Capuccini,” by P. Rocco da Cesinale,²² form the principal sources from which I derive my material for this chapter. These documents mention the following Parisian Capuchins in Acadia:

Fathers, P. Arsenius de Paris, 1636-1641; P. Pacificus de Provins, 1641; P. Francis de Cumières; P. Ignatius de Paris, 1641-1652; P. Leonard de Chartres, † 1654; P. Leonard d'Auxerre, 1643-1649, and P. Paschal d'Auxerre, till 1652, both sons of Madame de Brice d'Auxerre; P. Bernardin de Crépy, till 1654; P. Gabriel de Joinville, till 1652; P. Cosmas de Mentès, till 1652; P. Balthasar de Paris, 1648-1654, again in 1656, with one companion; P. Vincent; P. John Louis; P. Ivo de Paris, till 1654; P. Joseph d'Angers, till 1667; P. Augustin de Pontoise, till 1655.

Lay Brothers, Elzear de St. Florentin, till 1655; Felix de Rheims, till 1655; Felix de Troyes, till 1652; Jean de Troyes, till 1654; François M. de Paris, till 1654; Didacus de Liesse, 1637-1652.

Father Arsenius had, before, been missionary in South

²² Tom. III, p. 673 ff.

America; for five years he acted as Superior at Port Royal, then returned to Paris, where he died June 20, 1645, having lived and worked as a pious son of St. Francis forty-six years of his long life. P. Pacificus de Provins was a missionary of experience; Syria and Persia, previously, had been his field of labor. "*Uomo di zelo e di molto senno pratico*," "a zealous and very practical man" his Italian biographer styles him. He was appointed prefect of the Acadian mission by the Propaganda, July 2, 1641; the decree honors him as "*Antiquus Orientis Missionarius*." Three years later, May 27, 1644, he reports that there was little hope for the extension of the mission toward the south, where, in 1632, Lord Baltimore had founded the Maryland colony. May 7, 1646, Fr. Pacificus again was mentioned at the meeting of the Propaganda, having sent a companion back to France with one of the aborigines; the latter, after being well instructed, was solemnly baptized, and named after the king, Louis, by the express desire of the queen-mother. The Indian accompanied a new Superior to his native land. In 1649 Fr. Pacificus was sent on visitation to the West Indies, where the Capuchins had also established themselves, as we shall see in another chapter, and there he died.⁴⁰

As already intimated, in 1646, a new Superior or rather an Apostolic-Visitor arrived, to make a thorough investigation of the state of the mission, Fr. Archangelus de Luynes, Guardian of the Capuchin convent at Noyon in France. Raphael de Dieppe praises his unusual learning: he had been missionary at Constantinople, and had mastered the three difficult languages Greek, Arabian, and Hebrew; in France as well as in foreign countries he had labored very successfully for the salvation of souls; his fervent words were supported by an exemplary life; he lost his life whilst returning from Acadia, in an accident near the coast of France, Jan. 5, 1649, in his sixty-first year, "*affranto da fatiche, carico di meriti*," "worn out by fatigues, loaded with merits."⁴¹

⁴⁰ Cf. Migne, Dict. de biogr.

⁴¹ Bibl. Script. Ord. 220.

The next Prefect of the Mission was Fr. Leonard de Chartres, known, since his entrance into the novitiate (Dec. 17, 1616) as a great lover of silence, but renowned, at the same time, as an eloquent orator throughout France. The *Eloges Historiques*, No. 56, relate, that he was killed by an Indian at the baptism of a child, July 14, 1649; this, however, according to the express statement of the official report of 1656 and the *Bullarium Ordinis*,⁴² must be corrected. Fr. Leonard, severely wounded at the baptism of a dying infant on the above date, fled, and recovered; but in 1654 the Puritans murdered the zealous missionary, not far from Port Royal in Acadia. He is the first Capuchin who shed his blood for his faith on the North American continent.

The Fathers and Brothers labored in Acadia with such admirable success, that as early as 1634 Governor Razilly reported to Cardinal Richelieu and the Capuchin Prefect:⁴³ "The Capuchin missionaries have guided us so well by their examples, that by the grace of God, vice is not found in our settlement; since I have been here, I have had no cause for punishment; . . . the savages obey all the laws one may impose upon them, divine and human. . . ." The Indians of Acadia were the Micmacs, or Abnakis. Throughout the past centuries they have retained the memory of the Black-Robe, *i. e.*, the Jesuit, so called on account of the black cassock he always wears, and the Bare-Foot, on account of the Capuchin custom of going barefooted. When in 1894 the Capuchins re-entered that mission in the Micmac reservation, this tradition was still alive. In autumn the Capuchins followed the Indians into their winter retreats, into "the forest primeval," where they lived with them "*a la sylvatique*," the Indian life of privation and austerity. But in the summer months they gathered more around the stations. Besides the three posts mentioned above, Capuchins were stationed at Nepigigouit and at a second St. Pierre, both near Chaleur Bay. A chapel was dedicated to our Lady of Good Hope near the mouth of the Penobscot, as we conclude

⁴² v. 28; instead of "Candia" read "Canada."

⁴³ Moreau, *Histoire de l'Acadie française*.

from the inscription of a copper-plate, found near the present city of Castine, Hancock Co., Maine, in 1863.

1648. 8. Jun. F.
Leo. Parisin.
Capuc. Miss.
posui hoc fu-
ndtm in hnr-
em nrae dmae
sanctae spei.

If we supply the abbreviations, it reads: 1648. 8. junii Frater Leonardus, Parisinus Capuccinus missionarius, posui hoc fundamentum in honorem nostrae dominae sanctae spei. Translated into English: "June 8. 1648, I Father Leonard, a Parisian Capuchin Missionary, have laid this founda-

tion in honor of Our Lady of Holy Hope." This chapel was not, however, the first one in the place, as the report of the Propaganda dated July 19, 1633, mentions two Capuchin mission-stations: Port-Royal, and Port St. Marie near the borders of the English colony, but yet in New France; the church of the Blessed Virgin there was undoubtedly the first Capuchin church within the present United States, having been built either in 1632 or in 1633.

The principal station was Port Royal. There was a large church at Port Royal, built of logs; the outer walls were beautifully decorated with evergreens and other plants, the interior was simple, but love for the temple of the Almighty and zeal for His house gave rise to artistic decorations with flowers and leaves at least during the season. But the finest decoration, beyond doubt, was the piety of the faithful. The family of the Governor set the best example. The French as well as the savages frequented the sacraments. "The ceremonies were earnest, touching, unctuous, because these people were Christians indeed." They all joined in singing, and "though the details were often less harmonious," writes the Superior P. Ignatius, "yet the effect of the singing of the entire congregation was grand and impressive.

" *Annal. Francis.*, June 1865, p. 645.

" Rameau, *Une Colonie féodale*.

Father Charlevoix, the noted Jesuit historian, tells us of his own visit to the Capuchins on the river Kennebec,⁴⁶ and speaks of a Jesuit establishment within the Capuchin district. When Father Gabriel Druillettes, S.J., was removed by his Superiors, the Capuchins successfully applied for his return. He visited the Capuchins, who received him with great joy and cordiality, as the report says. From the beginning, as stated before, ever since Champlain's time, Jesuits and Recollects were also employed in the vast region, and at the arrival of the Capuchins the French commandant Razilly assigned to each Order a certain district. Fr. Druillettes' visit took place about 1646.

A special feature of the mission was the school at Port Royal, called according to the custom of the times "*Séminaire*," a boarding school in two departments, male and female. The boys were instructed by Capuchin Fathers and Brothers, the girls had, besides, some female instructors and a directress. The number of boy boarders was about thirty, all Indians, whilst many more, both French and Indians, were simply day-scholars; some were preparing for Baptism, others were already baptized. Several of the Capuchin Brothers, having acquired more than an ordinary knowledge of the Abnaki dialect, are especially mentioned in the reports as instruments of Divine Providence for the conversion of many by their clear and natural catechetical instructions and their exemplary lives. The only fixed income of these two schools was a small yearly sum donated by Cardinal Richelieu; Governor d'Aulnay contributed largely from his own resources. In February 1647 he reports to King Louis the admirable results of the school and of the entire mission.⁴⁷ He was a model officer; we have already spoken of his piety; the Indians and the colonists alike respected and loved him, not only as a kind master, but also as a powerful and reliable friend. Acadia then, indeed, was the "home of the happy!"

Yet, "naught but tradition remains of the beautiful village

⁴⁶ *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, ii. 202.

⁴⁷ *Collect. de manuscrits*, Quebec, p. 120.

of Grand-Pré," we quote again from Longfellow; and not of that little village alone, but also of the whole mission. On May 24, 1650, Governor d'Aulnay perished by an accident to his boat. The English who had colonized Massachusetts, with Boston, its Puritan center, had always looked upon Acadia's happiness with envious eyes, ready to snatch it from France, partly from political, partly from religious motives. Meanwhile a fanatical party in England had successfully started a rebellion; King Charles I was beheaded, and Cromwell's "Army of the Saints" renewed the days of terror for Catholics in the English dominions. The death of d'Aulnay deprived Acadia of its best defense; other Frenchmen, who above all had in view the accumulation of riches, and who hated the missionaries as the censors of their avaricious and immoral methods, soon gained power and control, and, faithless to God as well as to their country, they delivered Acadia into the hands of the English. The merchant Le Borgne was the principal traitor. In 1652 he had imprisoned Madame de Brice, the directress of the female school, mother of two Capuchins; the same cruel treatment was awarded to Fathers Cosmas and Gabriel, the most experienced of all the missionaries, as their Superior, Ignatius, reports. For five months Le Borgne held them in prison, then they were brought upon a ship destined for France. Father Ignatius foresaw what would follow, appointed Father Leonard de Chartres his successor, and sailed for France in the same year, for the purpose of securing aid at the French court; later on he tried in vain to return. Father Paschal and the two Brothers Didacus and Felix de Troyes accompanied him. In 1654 the mission came to an end. The English, owing to the treachery of some Frenchmen, easily gained possession of the posts, and expelled therefrom almost all the French, as they did a hundred years later, at the time of Evangeline. They insisted that all Catholic priests should go; Father Leonard de Chartres, the Capuchin Superior, was killed by them in 1654. His companion, Father Ivo, with the Brothers Jean and François, were forced to leave Port Royal, which was now without any mission-

aries. Father Bernardin, at St. Pierre in the present State of Maine, was carried to England; he was especially hated by the Puritans on account of his success in his labors; Cromwell, however, sent him to France. P. Balthasar at Nepigigouit, near Chaleur Bay, had already left for Paris on a mission to report the state of affairs, and to arrange some method of aiding the afflicted country. During the six years of his stay in Acadia he had acquired such a knowledge of the Abnaki dialect, that he spoke it as well as French; "he converted more Indians than any other Father," his Superior states, who styles him "praiseworthy," extolling his zeal: "it is impossible to describe the privations and hardships he endured..." In 1655 this Father embarked to return from France to his beloved Indians; but a fierce storm drove the ship out of her course, and he barely saved his life; nevertheless, in the spring of 1656, he set out again with another Father, whose name is not given; what was the fate of the two in a wild country, ruled by their enemies, is not told in history; they reached Acadia, that is all we know. The last Capuchin whose name we find in our researches on Acadia, was Fr. Joseph d'Angers, a friend of the renowned Parisian Fr. Joseph of Paris, who died in the midst of his Abnaki Indians March 17, 1667.⁴⁸

Father Augustin and the Brothers Felix de Reims and Elzear had first remained in the northern post of St. Pierre. This Brother Elzear is also praised by his Superior; he had acquired a good knowledge of the Indian dialect, and during the nine or ten years he spent in the present State of Maine, "by his virtue and very Christian conversations, had prepared many for the Faith, and by his effective simplicity had converted many." In 1655, however, destitute of all necessities of life, the three were compelled to leave for France.

Rev. Jos. M. Woods, S.J.,⁴⁹ in his report of the Jesuit mission of the same period, a little farther south, states: "By the close of 1646 not a priest was left in the province of

⁴⁸ *Abbrégé de l'hist. des ill. Capucins*, manuscript in National Library at Paris.

⁴⁹ *Historical Records and Studies*, U. S. C. Hist. Soc., 1904, p. 363.

Maryland. Persecuted, proscribed, hunted, arrested, banished by the rebellion of Claiborne and bigoted ingratitude, the founders of Catholicity in Maryland....had to forego their work...." In 1656 Father Ignatius wrote the memorial from which we gather many of the above facts. His own zeal was remarkable; he asks and begs to be sent back to the Indians, who, he fears, will fall away, and to the French, who equally need spiritual assistance. He advises to send back, at once, besides himself and his associates Father Gabriel and the surviving Father Leonard, the Brothers Felix de Troyes and either Elzear or François, as they were best acquainted with the Abnaki dialect. Political motives, however, prevented any successful effort on the part of the king of France. Shea⁵⁰ remarks, that Spain provided for the future of Catholicity even in her lost provinces, and that this care contrasts favorably with the negligence of the French court, which seems to have done nothing for its former subjects who passed under the English sway, not even after the American Revolution would have made this easy. Finally God permitted France to lose all her North American possessions.

On February 21, 1650, the Procurator of our Order presented to the Propaganda a petition, in which he asks the Sacred Congregation for permission to send six Capuchins of the Parisian Province to New England, or to Virginia ("*instituendi missionem in Nova Anglia seu Virginia*"). To understand the situation we must recall the fact that at that time, till 1664, New Netherland was a Dutch possession, with New Amsterdam (now New York) as capital; New England comprised the country north of the Dutch district; Virginia was another English colony further south.

The answer of the Congregation was in the affirmative ("*benigne annuit...*"). However, during Cromwell's rule, nothing could be done; but as soon as the storm had spent its force, in 1671, the French nuncio made the request that the Capuchins evangelize Florida. It seems to have been intended that the Capuchins of the Antilles Islands should be

⁵⁰ Life and Times of Archb. Carroll, p. 550.

charged with the care of Florida also, they being the nearest. But as we shall see in another chapter, their number was insufficient even for those islands.

Thus Acadia remained the first and only field of labor of the Capuchins on the North American continent, and partly within the United States, during the seventeenth century.

"Still stands the forest primeval; but under the shade of its branches Dwells another race, with other customs and language."

Yet not so far away is the mission of St. Anne de Restigouche, near where the Matapedia River empties into Chaleur Bay, in the present county of Bonaventure, Province of Quebec; Capuchin Fathers returned to this Abnaki mission in 1894. *L'amour est un vrai recommenceur.*

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH AND SPANISH CAPUCHINS IN LOUISIANA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE diocese of Quebec in Colonial days embraced well nigh all the immense American territory under the French dominion. The Venerable Servant of God (September 29, 1890) François de Laval de Montmorency, first bishop since October 1, 1674, had resigned in 1688, and Jean Baptiste de la Croix de la Chevrrière de St. Vallier had become his successor. On account of the vastness of the territory under his jurisdiction, Bishop Laval adopted the custom of appointing some missionary as vicar-general of this or that part of his diocese; on July 21, 1663, he appointed the Jesuit Father Claude Jean Allouez vicar-general of the mission in the west, confiding in his "piety, purity of life, and ability."¹ Bishop Saint-Vallier asked for a coadjutor and the Capuchin Louis François Duplessis de Mornay was appointed in February 1713, by Pope Clement XI.² De Mornay was born of high nobility,

¹ Archiv. of Quebec, A. 166.

² Bullar. Cap. v. 25; l. 153.

and yet to the surprise of all joined the humble Capuchin Order. As a Religious he distinguished himself by singular piety and strict observance of the Rule, and consequently was soon appointed guardian and elected definitor. His life was blameless and attracted admiration, whereupon King Louis XIV of France named him as bishop of Eumenia, *i. p. i.*, and irrevocable coadjutor of Quebec. "Wisely and with universal approval he had performed the duties of his Order;" as a bishop, he was equally conscientious, and if we are told that he did not take his residence at Quebec, we must not forget that at those times it was just as easy to go from Paris to New Orleans as from Quebec. He was the sixth Capuchin who became bishop and was consecrated in one of the Capuchin churches of Paris, April 22, 1714. At the death of St. Vallier (December 26, 1727) De Mornay succeeded him, but resigned, being already seventy years old, September 12, 1733, and died eight years later. His epitaph reads:

Illustris. et Reverendissimus Dominus
 Fr. Ludovicus Franciscus de Mornay
 Quebecensis Episcopus
 Multoties in Ordine Capucinatorum
 Guardianus et definitor
 A Rege Ludovico Magno
 Nominatus Episcopus anno MDCCXIII
 Piorum praesidium
 Sanae morum doctrinae, et disciplinae
 Tutor et Vindex
 utramque verbis et exemplis
 strenue defendit.
 Per annos 28 grave Episcopatus jugum
 fortiter et sollicite portavit.
 Singulari morum integritate conspicuus
 aequabile vitae tenore sibi constans
 nec prosperis elatus nec depressus adversis.
 In victu et cultu simplex
 recti et veri tenax

assiduus et fervens in oratione
 annos aeternos semper in mente habuit
 dierum bonorumque operum plenus
 obiit die 28. Nov. anni 1741,
 aetatis suae 78.

St. Vallier appointed De Mornay vicar-general of that portion of his immense diocese then called Louisiana. In 1717 the "Company of the West" was established for the cultivation and government of Louisiana. Somewhat later it applied to De Mornay for missionaries and the vicar-general called on his fellow-Religious, the Capuchins of the Champagne province, for help. The piety and zeal of these French Capuchins is most highly praised by the compiler of our Bullarium. Making use of the words of Jacob de Vitry he writes (V. 202): "...day and night they unceasingly devote themselves to the divine praises and to the preaching of the word of God... Traversing towns and cities, enduring hunger and thirst, they as the salt of the earth season the nourishment of salvation and silence the clamors of the flesh;...as the light of the world they enlighten and guide many to the science of truth..." Such were the men De Mornay sent to North America.

In 1720 the first Capuchins arrived in Louisiana; January 18, 1721, the Capuchin Jean Mathieu signs himself in the registers as curate (*curé*) of Mobile, in the present State of Alabama, which registers are still preserved there. Since De Mornay, for some reason, remained in France, he appointed Mathieu his vicar in Louisiana. The following notes we take from the Bullarium, Cap. VII, 328-330, and from "*Mémoire concernant l'Eglise de la Louisiane, 1722-1728*." This memoir, preserved in the archives of the ministry of the Navy at Paris,⁵³ was published by Gabriel Gravier at Paris, in 1872, appended to Madel. Hachard's letters, under the title "*Relation du voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursulines de Rouen...*"

On May 16, 1722, by order of the Government, with the consent of the ordinary, Louisiana was divided into three

⁵³ Am. Cath. Hist. Researches, 1905, p. 124.

religious jurisdictions. The country west of the Mississippi up to the mouth of the Ohio River was entrusted to the Capuchins, the country opposite to the Carmelites, the country north, on both sides of the Mississippi, to the Jesuits. The Religious Superiors were to act as vicars-general in their respective districts. In December 1722 the Carmelites returned to France, and the Capuchins were placed in charge of their district also; on December 19 the Company ordained that besides a more spacious monastery at New Orleans, one for four Religious and a church should be built at Mobile. On June 27, 1725, several ordinations in favor of the Capuchins were again repeated or rather approved with the express intention to induce the Capuchins to supply all the stations. However, their number was inadequate and could not be sufficiently increased from France, while on the other hand the stations near the mouth of the Mississippi were numerous and populous; consequently the Capuchin district was successively reduced, and February 20, 1726, only the care of the French posts was left to them, whilst the Jesuits were charged with the spiritual direction of the savages. Some exceptions, however, were made: the Capuchin Theodore remaining with the Chapitoulas, Father Maximin with the Natchitoches and Father Philibert with the Natchez. This Father Philibert was a man of extraordinary piety and zeal according to one of the "*Lettres Edifiantes*" written by the Jesuit Fr. Mathurin Le Petit, Superior of the Jesuits in New Orleans; he smoothed all difficulties that naturally arise when two religious Orders have the same field of labor. An example of their harmonious activity is the following: On July 17, 1734, the first convent of religious women within the United States was solemnly opened, on which occasion the Capuchin Father Philibert carried the Blessed Sacrament in the procession, whilst the Jesuit Superior Le Petit preached the sermon.*

The records of the succeeding years are little known. A Capuchin, John François, signs as *curé* of Mobile from 1736 till 1755 with little interruption; another, Anselm, erected an oratory and blessed the bells at Pointe Coupée in the spring of

* Colonial Days, p. 570.

1738; a Father Mathias was vicar-general from 1734-1739. On April 9, 1741, De Pontbriant became bishop of Quebec, and he transferred the higher authority of jurisdiction from the Capuchins to the Jesuits in 1750. About this year a Father Charles was active at New Orleans. A report of the missions⁵⁵ gives the following statement in regard to the Capuchin stations:

New Orleans, 600 families; La Mobile, 60; Les Appalaches, 30; La Balize, 6; Les Allemands, a place where, as the name already intimates, Germans had settled, 200; Pointe Coupée, 100; Natchez, 6; Natchitoches, 50; it is added that there exist three more stations, the names of which are not given.

About this time (1750) a Father Hilaire was Capuchin Superior; a note added by an official of the Propaganda to the "*Mémoire abrégé sur les Missions de la colonie nommée Louisiane*," by the Jesuit Philibert Francis Watrin,⁵⁶ styles him "a man of great vivacity, incapable of wavering once he is resolved to do something." He disliked the humiliation of his Order extremely, and unhappily opposed the decree of the bishop. The cause was referred to Rome, and was still pending when the suppression of the venerable Society of Jesus terminated the dispute, styled by some writers "the Jesuit and Capuchin War." Concerning the relations between the two Orders we shall now hear the same Jesuit, Watrin. He wrote his "Memoire" by request of the Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda, probably after his return to Rome, about 1765, and the Rev. H. Van der Sanden, chancellor of the archdiocese of St. Louis, discovered it in the archives of the Propaganda. Father Watrin had spent thirty years in Louisiana, and, consequently, is a competent witness. He styles the Capuchin mission the principal one in Louisiana. At New Orleans, he says, "which then had about 4000 inhabitants, the two Capuchins since the departure of the Jesuits are kept very busy": two hospitals, the Ursuline convent with the orphan asylum, and the faithful, including many

⁵⁵ Bullar., vii. 329.

⁵⁶ Am. Cath. Hist. Researches, 1800, p. 89 ff.

troops and slaves, have to be cared for. The Capuchin P. Barnabé is in charge of La Cote des Allemands and "takes great care of it." Another, P. Iréné, is pastor of the "large parish" at La Pointe Coupée; "when the Jesuits were gradually recalled they passed by this post; Father Iréné welcomed them and treated them as if they had been his brothers." So far this memorandum. We may add⁷ that the Capuchins at New Orleans also received the banished Jesuits with every mark of sympathy, and obtained a house adjoining their own to shelter them; in gratitude the books which had been left to the Jesuits, and which formed a little library, were given by them to the Capuchins. In 1761 and the following years the Jesuits were forced to leave, having been suppressed by the French government, and finally also by Clement XIV, in 1773, under strong pressure from several European powers. The only Jesuit who decided to stay at his post, Vincennes, in the country of the Illinois Indians, was the old and venerable Father Sebastian Louis Meurin; as no Jesuit Superior remained, he had to place himself under obedience to the Capuchin Superior at New Orleans. Nine or ten Capuchins and several other Fathers were the only priests in all Louisiana after the departure of the Jesuits. Other extraordinary events increased the troubles: Bishop de Pontbriant died June 8, 1760, and for six years Quebec had no bishop: March 16, 1766, Jean Olivier Briand became Pontbriant's successor, and ruled till 1794. But under his reign the diocese underwent many changes and great reductions, owing to the political development of America. The English seized Quebec in 1759, Montreal in 1760, and gradually all Canada; the neighborhood of New Orleans and all the country west of the Mississippi came under the Spanish rule, the rest under the English, in 1763.

To this time Florida, as far we know, had not been visited by the French Capuchins, being Spanish territory. For a short time it fell under English sway, but in 1783 the Spanish again took possession of it, and in 1810 Florida was occupied by the United States. Old Louisiana was again made a French

⁷ Shea, *Colonial Days*, p. 590.

province, October 1, 1800, but on December 20, 1803, it was ceded to the United States.

But let us return to the year 1765. The change of government and the arrival of Spanish settlers and officials made a change of missionaries desirable in that territory. Therefore, on March 5, 1766, the first three Spanish Capuchins arrived in New Orleans. The consequence of this was, that a difficulty arose between the French and Spanish Capuchins, increased by the unwarranted meddling of the government.⁸⁸ The French provincial asked for directions at Rome, April 14, 1766 (*Archives of Propag.*), and, gradually, the French Fathers left. Two or three, however, remained, as they had adopted a mode of life which they knew could not be continued under the watchful eyes of their Superiors at home; they had lost the virtue of obedience, the mainstay of monastic discipline; in consequence negligence had begun to supplant zeal, and God's blessing had ceased to make their labors as fruitful as elsewhere, where union with Rome was maintained and monastic discipline was enforced by lawful Religious Superiors.

In 1772 the bishop of Santiago de Cuba, who exercised jurisdiction over New Orleans also, sent Father Cyril with four other Spanish Capuchins, Francis, Angel, Louis and Aleman, to New Orleans. Father Cyril, of the noble Spanish family of Sieni, was born at Barcelona in 1730; being a Religious of eminent piety he was appointed vicar-general by the bishop, and upon the presentation of King Charles III was appointed bishop of Tricala, *i. p. i.*, by Pope Pius VI, June 25, 1784.⁸⁹ There were, then, eight Spanish Capuchins at New Orleans. Father Cyril was a man faithful to his rule and to his priestly duties, and at once undertook to remedy abuses though he met with very great opposition, the people having been industriously filled with prejudices against the Spanish Fathers. Nevertheless some good was achieved: curates were appointed for the parishes, instructions and sermons delivered according to the precepts of the Church, etc. But the population hated these

⁸⁸ Shea, *Life and Times of Archb. Carroll*, p. 540 ss.

⁸⁹ Bullar., *Cap.* ix, 287.

sermons, and was unwilling to frequent the sacraments, to observe the ecclesiastical fasts, in one word, to change their un-Catholic way of living. One party, however, hailed with delight the arrival of Father Cyril—the community of the Ursulines, whose director he had been appointed. The Spanish government preferred to side with the enemies of Catholic life. Yet in their parishes, outside of New Orleans, the priests appointed by the vicar-general, Father Cyril, worked with some success. Father Valentine (1774) took steps to provide for the erection of a suitable church at St. Louis, and blessed a bell for the old poor chapel, erected by the venerable pioneer Father Gibault, about 1770. The new church, also a wooden structure, sixty by thirty feet, was blessed in 1776, the Capuchin Bernard being in charge. At Iberville, near the present city of Galveston, Texas, a new station had been founded, where Father Angel opened the registers of St. Gabriel's, in 1773. He was also in charge of the new chapel of St. Bernard at Manchac, the present site of Galveston. In all, as we gather from the various notes, the district of New Orleans had five priests, and the following stations, each had one priest: Cote des Allemands, Terre aux Boeufs, Bonnet Carré, Natchez, Natchitoches, Chapitoulas, St. Louis, St. Geneviève, Mobile, St. Jacques, etc. We have tried to compile a table of these points with their respective pastors, which, although incomplete, may serve as a help to the reader. The duration of the administration of each Father could not in each instance be ascertained precisely. Mention is made of two Fathers who were called Bernard: one being of Spanish (Sp.), the other of German (G.) descent. This German Father we meet first at Iberville, in 1790; he was born at Limbach (Limpach?), and there is a city by that name in Saxony. This Father Bernard, as we shall see later on, was, however, not the first German Capuchin within the present United States. He died suddenly at Pointe Coupée, in 1796, and was buried there.

NEW ORLEANS	1791-96 P. Bernard (G.) († there).
1726 P. Philip.	ST. LOUIS
1728 P. Raphael.	1772-75 P. Valentine.
1734-39 P. Mathias.	1776 P. Bernard (Sp.).
1750-68 P. Hilary.	PENSACOLA
1768 (?) P. Dagobert.	1781-85 P. Peter.
1772-93 P. Cyril (1784 Aux. Bish.).	1785-94 † P. Stephan.
1785-1829 P. Antonio of Sedella († 1829).	ST. GENEVIEVE
COTE DES ALLEMANDS	1773-77 P. Hilary.
1728 P. Philip.	ST. JACQUES (ACADIANS).
1761-64 P. Barnabas.	1779 P. Prosper.
BONNET CARRÉ	1785 P. Francis.
1772-84 P. Barnabas.	NATCHEZ
CHAPITOULAS	1726 P. Philibert.
1726 P. Theodore.	NATCHITOCHES
MOBILE	1726 P. Maximin.
1721 P. John Mathieu.	IBERVILLE
1736-55 P. John Francis.	1773 P. Angel.
1765 P. Ferdinand.	1778 P. Valentine.
1781 P. Charles.	1781 P. Joseph.
1784 P. Joseph.	1785-88 P. Bernard (Sp.).
POINTE COUPÉE	1788-89 P. Joseph.
1737 † P. John Francis.	1790-91 P. Bernard (G.).
1738 P. Anselm.	1791-99 P. Bonaventure.
1761 P. Iréné.	MANCHAC (GALVESTON)
1775-77 P. Valentine.	1773-† P. Angel.
1778-80 P. Hilary.	1785-88 P. Bernard (Sp.) († 1826).
1783-91 P. Louis.	

Bishop Cyril, in 1785, appointed the Capuchin Father Anthony Ildefonsus Moreno y Arze parish priest of St. Louis' Church, New Orleans, who retained this position till his death, January 19, 1829. Father Anthony was born November 18,

1748, at Sedella in the province of Granada, in Spain. He completed his studies with remarkable success and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His appointment seems to have been opposed by a clique of Spanish colonial civil officials, and their opposition against him increased when, in 1788, he was made Commissary of the Inquisition for the colony, by the king. The governor, Miro, determined to get rid of Father Anthony, and in 1789 had him arrested and secretly put on board a vessel which was about to sail for Spain. At the same time in a report he described the Capuchin as a disturber of tranquillity and an enemy of Spanish interests. Two years later, in 1791, Father Anthony landed again at New Orleans, perfectly justified and even bearing a new dignity, that of Honorary Preacher to His Majesty.

Meanwhile Bishop Cyril had zealously made his visitation tours since 1785 with more or less good results. Some Acadians—we have met them before at their homes—founded, in 1779, a colony on the gulf of Mexico, where no English government would interfere with the exercise of their religion. The Capuchin Prosper had been their first pastor; Bishop Cyril now installed Father Francis; he mentions with praise the zeal and generosity of the Acadians, who so beautifully enriched their chapel, dedicated to St. Jacques.

In 1786 Bishop Cyril, by a pastoral letter, urged the stricter observance of the Lord's Day: the Christians were wont to neglect Mass and to perform unnecessary servile work on Sundays, and the negroes held dances in the afternoon. Even the Spanish governor supported the bishop on this point.

In 1787 the new diocese of Havana was established, and Bishop Cyril then became Auxiliary to the Ordinary of Havana, de Trespalacios. This prelate, however, disliked his auxiliary. Bishop Cyril's residence at New Orleans being destroyed by the terrible conflagration which swept the city March 21, 1788, he was compelled to retire to Havana; this made but little change in his life of truly apostolic simplicity. Meanwhile he continued his visitations till 1793. In that year, on April 25, Pope Pius VI issued a bull, by which he formed

the new diocese of New Orleans, in the hope that a resident bishop would more readily cure the evils we have described. On November 23, of the same year, King Ferdinand of Spain, who interfered as much in ecclesiastical affairs as his predecessors, recalled the Capuchin Auxiliary Bishop to Spain, ordering the bishop of Havana to pay a yearly allowance of \$1000 for his support. Cyril returned at once to Havana waiting for the first annual payment to defray the necessary traveling expenses, and lived there quietly with the hospital friars as late as 1799. The Bishop of Havana refused the payment of the pension. That Bishop Cyril endeavored to remedy the prominent evils, *viz.*, negligence of the clergy in regard to the necessary instructions of the faithful, and desecration of the Sunday, is apparent from his pastorals and his zealous visitations; that he did not have the expected success was due principally to the well-known love of the Spanish people for ease and comfort.

Meanwhile another trouble had come over Father Anthony of Sedella. In a little wooden hut close to the church he lived a real life of poverty, nor did he think it in harmony with his holy rule to assume the financial administration of the parish, which he accordingly committed to wardens or trustees elected by the parishioners. In the course of time these men appear to have acted as though they were the real owners of the church property entrusted to them, and ugly controversies arose, which produced a considerable amount of soreness and made the repeated interference of the bishop necessary. To increase the trouble, one political change followed the other. Louisiana became once more French, then for a second time Spanish, and finally it was ceded to the United States. Now the Spanish government wished to withdraw all its own natural subjects from the ceded possession, and the Very Rev. Thomas Hassett, administrator of the diocese, inquired what priests would remain; of the twenty-six in the twenty-one parishes of the diocese only four were willing to stay, and it follows therefrom that the Spanish Capuchins also left about 1803. Father Anthony of Sedella, however, with two assistants, one of whom seems to

have been the Spanish Capuchin Bernard who died in 1826, remained at New Orleans. His parish at that time counted upward of 10,000 souls. Hassett informed Bishop Carroll at Baltimore of the state of affairs in Louisiana in a letter, December 23, 1803, as the Propaganda had resolved to place all the territory of the United States under Bishop Carroll's administration; Father Hassett died four months afterward. Father Anthony's ambition now seems to have aspired to the episcopal dignity; according to a letter of November 17, 1806, from Bishop Carroll to James Madison, then U. S. Secretary of State, "the attempt completely miscarried..."; Madison replied regarding the Capuchin: "It appears that his intrigues and his connections have drawn on him the watchful attention of the government of his territory." It seems that under these circumstances Father Anthony sometimes failed to find the correct mode of acting; but there is one thing more that I quote for an excuse: the situation of the Spanish Capuchins at that period.

King Charles IV of Spain had succeeded Charles III, and by constant and urgent entreaties obtained a papal bull from Pius VII, on May 15, 1804, by which the Spanish Capuchins were totally severed from the head of the Order in Rome, so that the Capuchin superior-general at Rome had henceforth no jurisdiction over the Spanish Capuchins, who were to be governed by one chosen from their own midst, and residing in Spain. This anomalous situation, which could not but be detrimental to the whole Order, lasted eighty years, till 1885, when the present Cardinal Vives took a very active part in its abolition.⁶⁰ A similar case occurred when, in 1773, King Charles III of Spain ordered the South American Capuchin missions to be subject henceforth to a new Superior without any previous approval by the Father General, who only afterward consented.⁶¹

Bishop Carroll appointed the pious John Olivier his vicar-general at New Orleans, and on August 18, 1812, William Dubourg administrator-apostolic. Father Anthony recognized

⁶⁰ Bullar. Cap., ix. 291 ss. Anacleto, 1800, p. 218.

⁶¹ Bullar. ib. 85.

him, but the old rebellious spirit of the parish was not quite dead. On January 23, 1815, after the close of the war with England, Dubourg held a solemn thanksgiving service in the cathedral; in the same year he became bishop of New Orleans. Dubourg, on his return from Rome, January 5, 1818, established his residence at St. Louis. Now New Orleans lost in importance, since St. Louis was to be henceforth the center of the new spiritual life of Louisiana. This diminished greatly the number of the rebels at New Orleans cathedral, and a reconciliation was finally effected. The feast on which the angels announced peace on earth to all men of good will, in 1820, marked the happy change for the better. On the fourth Sunday of Advent the bishop assisted solemnly at the High Mass celebrated by Father Anthony; on Christmas Day the bishop chanted High Mass himself in the cathedral. At the consecration of the Auxiliary-Bishop Rosati, March, 1824, Father Anthony officiated as second assistant; many priests, in rich vestments, filled the sanctuary, and thus increased the solemnity described by several letters of the new Auxiliary to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda. After the resignation of Dubourg, in 1826, Rosati became Ordinary. The trustees at New Orleans meanwhile resumed their old tactics; they endeavored to secure the passage of a law, vesting in themselves the right to appoint and remove priests. Bishop Rosati at once laid the matter before Pope Leo XII, who in his Brief "*Quo longius*"⁶² severely rebuked the insolent trustees: "...What shall we say of the trustees of the church of New Orleans, who endeavor to renew the audacious misconduct of Philadelphia, and who obstinately oppose our apostolic decision, of which they are surely not ignorant? Did Christ give His Church to trustees or to bishops to be ruled by them? Shall sheep lead the shepherd, and not the shepherd the sheep?..."

On January 19, 1829, Father Antonio of Sedella, the last Spanish Capuchin in that part of the country, departed this life. A recent American writer says:⁶³ "Many have been the

⁶² Bullarium C. de Prop. F., v, 42.

⁶³ Franc. Annals, 1907, 196.

disputes over the character of this wonderful priest; for wonderful he was to have left a name, which, despite all criticism, stands out as one of the sweetest, truest, and most benevolent in the annals of old New Orleans. By some he is revered as a saint, while by others hard things are said of him." We add, however, that the worst things with which he can be charged are occasional harshness and ambition. His burial was more of a triumph than of a funeral. The "Louisiana Advertiser" of January 24 said: "Both Houses of the Legislature, in accordance with the public sentiment, had resolved to adjourn for that day, and to assist at the interment. The courts... had adopted a similar resolution. The City Council also had passed the resolution of Mr. Lavery, declaring that its members would join the procession and wear crape for thirty days..."

Time has rolled on, and November 29, 1885, the centenary of the appointment of Father Anthony of Sedella as pastor of New Orleans was solemnly celebrated at the cathedral there.

CHAPTER III

THE CAPUCHINS AND THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE 1778-1783

"WE in America have abundant reason to rejoice. The heathens are driven out, and the Canadians conquered. The British dominion now extends from sea to sea, and from the great river to the ends of the earth. Liberty and knowledge, civil and religious, will be co-extended, improved, and preserved to the latest posterity... The true interests of Great Britain and her plantations are mutual; what God in His providence had united let no man attempt to pull asunder." Thus spoke Otis in the Boston town meeting of March, 1763.

Yet British ministers and statesmen did not appreciate the merits of the colonies, and politics went their own way. Seven years later history recorded the "Boston riot;" the "Boston Tea Party" followed, and Boston's people called for a general con-

gress of delegates of the dissatisfied colonies to be convened at Philadelphia on September 1, 1774. In 1775 the struggle for American independence began. The brave and patriotic colonists engaged in a war for the liberties and rights of mankind. Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette of France, the French nobility generally, and the people, warmly sympathized with America; many a gallant Frenchman enlisted in the American army, and in 1778 the French army and navy came to the aid of the Americans—a very timely aid, indeed.

The French were mostly Catholics, and their army and navy well provided with chaplains, among whom we discover a considerable number of Capuchins; this chapter is inserted to perpetuate their memory. We derive our knowledge from "*Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine, 1778-1783*," published at Paris, 1903, printed also in the "American Catholic Historical Researches" of 1904, p. 2-10, with annotations by Griffin and a Jesuit Father.*

In the fleet of Count d'Estaing two Capuchins were chaplains: Father Casimir on the *Le Magnifique*, and Father Nicholas on the *Le Fendant*; the latter died on board during the war, February 2, 1780 (1781?).

The fleet of Count De Grasse had nine Capuchin chaplains: on *La Ville de Paris*, Father Firmin (Firminion?) d'Amiens; on *L'Aigrette*, Father Movin; on the *Le Diadème*, Father Rémy, who died on board August 25, 1779; the unfortunate *La Bourgogne* suffered shipwreck, February 4, 1783, whereby the Capuchin Onésime lost his life; *Le Glorieux* had Father Zephyrin; *L'Auguste* Father Dorothé; *L'Hector* Father Bernardin de Villars; *Le Sagittaire* carried three chaplains, two of whom were Capuchins, Father Barnabé who died July 9, 1781, and Father Frédéric de Bourges.

The fleet under De Guichen has seven Capuchin chaplains: on the *L'Indien*, which name was changed into *La Réfléchy*, four; *Dieudonné*, Dupont (?), Panous (?), and Sebastian du Rosey; on the *Le Citoyen* another Father Dieudonné, and Father Damase; on the *Le Vaillant*, Father Marc.

* Cf. 1907, p. 25 ss.

In the fleet of Count de Ternay we find two Capuchins, Fathers Maurice and Frédéric, on *Le Jason*.

We have to add here, that in the "Researches of 1907," p. 26, Griffin calls Father Casimir a Recollect, without giving a reason for the change; but as he states that on the *Magnifique* "the Chaplains were Abbés Casimir, Recollect, Durandau, and Bourdy, Recollect," the words chosen and their position seem to indicate that "Recollect" should be "Capuchin" the first time, as in the previous statement. The fleet of D'Estaing did very important service to the American cause, damaging the English fleet considerably and obliging it to act on the defensive as early as 1778.

Le Glorieux, in the fleet of De Grasse, was captured by the English, April 12, 1782; we know not what became of the chaplain, Father Zephyrin, so he probably shared the fate of the other captured officers. The services of this fleet are not sufficiently recognized; yet De Grasse's prudent selection of the places of action and his exactness in all the movements of his vessels greatly aided the armies of Washington and Rochambeau.

The *Refléchy* and *Le Citoyen* of Guichen's fleet fought under De Grasse's command in the defeat of the English at Yorktown.

The fleet of De Ternay brought Rochambeau's army to Rhode Island, but from 1781-82, the *Jason* joined the fleet of De Grasse, and in that year only the two Capuchins were chaplains of the vessel.

The four fleets carried about ninety Catholic priests in all, of whom twenty belonged to the Capuchin Order; of these twenty, who left their country with the army to assist the gallant champions of freedom, Fathers Nicholas, Rémy, Onésime, and Barnabas lost their lives in the war.

A few of these chaplains did service on the land also, especially in Rochambeau's army, and as some of the larger vessels had three and more chaplains assigned to them, it seems that these ships were employed as transports, and that consequently several of the chaplains were afterward employed with the sol-

diers in the field. We also know that an Irish Capuchin, Father Charles Whelan, was chaplain in the French army on the American side; we shall speak of him in the next chapter, as he became the founder of the first Catholic church in New York, old St. Peter's.

La Réfléchy carried four chaplains of the Capuchin Order, one of whom, Sebastian du Rosey, also performed missionary work in the New England States after the war.

It has been stated, and at least partly proved, that the War of Independence "was not due solely to oppressive tax laws nor to restrictions on popular rights."⁶⁵ These, indeed, hold the main place, I think, not only in the "popular narration of the causes which brought on the Revolution," but in reality. The famous Quebec Act (1774), however, re-established tithes for the support of religion, which the Canadian Catholic clergy possessed prior to 1763, when under France; this act, "the last straw," "established Popery in Canada," as the "free Protestant Colonies" viewed it; and, besides, it so enlarged the boundaries of the Canadian province of Quebec, that the colonies became too close neighbors of a country where "Popery" was "established." It can not be denied that the spirit of the colonies was anything but favorable to the Catholic Church.

But the colonies entered upon the war, and—needed France—and France was Catholic. "If we have not money and soldiers from France, our cause is lost," George Washington said.

With the alliance between the belligerent colonies and France, came a change of America's attitude toward Catholicism. The Congress and distinguished patriots assisted at Te Deums and Requiems, and avoided offending the religious sensibilities of the French Ministers to the young republic.

The part that France played in the War of Independence was of the utmost importance for the Catholic Church in the United States, and we take pride in the part that the Order of Capuchins took in the war which gave birth to the United States.

⁶⁵ Am. Cath. Hist. Researches, 1906, p. 1.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST ENGLISH AND GERMAN CAPUCHINS IN THE STATES,
ABOUT 1780

WITH AN APPENDIX

1. *The First English Capuchins*

IN another chapter we have already intimated that the War of Independence brought Capuchins into this country, who after the restoration of peace either remained here or afterward returned to our shores. In this way the first Capuchin of Irish descent came to New York.

In October 1784, on invitation of some Catholics, the Capuchin Charles Whelan returned to New York, where he had already officiated during the war. He had arrived with the French fleet, had witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis, and had been a prisoner of war for some time. Archbishop Corrigan⁶⁷ styles him "a priest of blameless life, well educated, with no little dry wit, fonder of speaking French than English, but not a ready preacher. Through zeal for souls he resigned his position as chaplain, to devote himself to the building up of religion in New York...."

At first he seems to have acted merely as a private chaplain to a Portuguese merchant, José Ruiz Silva, but as early as April 1785, the Prefect-Apostolic Carroll granted him all the necessary faculties. At first Carroll doubted his own power to do this, as the Propaganda had forbidden him to give faculties to any European priest who might emigrate without the Propaganda's sanction,⁶⁸ Carroll, however, became convinced, that this law did not apply to Father Whelan, since the latter had arrived before the Roman decree. Thus Father Whelan became "the first regularly settled priest in the city of New York";⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Reg. of New York Clergy, U. S. C. H. Soc., 1900, 196-199.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Archbishop Bayley, *The Cath. Church in N. Y.*, p. 41.

and Carroll entrusted him with the formation of a regular parish. "He found only twenty communicants but plenty of grumblers; at that time the reception of the sacraments was rare, due probably, in part, to Jansenistic ideas, and great ignorance prevailed regarding religious truths."¹⁰ Services for Catholics were held in various halls, the temporary use of which could be obtained. As Father Whelan was fond of speaking French, the French Consul-General at New York, Hector St. Jean de Creve-Coeur, became much interested in him, and finally obtained a charter for a Catholic congregation, June 10, 1785. After various fruitless efforts in other directions, Father Whelan leased, from Trinity Church, the site on which St. Peter's now stands, on Barclay Street. A carpenter's shop was used as a church, till the construction of a more suitable building, the cornerstone of which was laid in the beginning of October 1785, as appears from a notice in the "Pennsylvania Journal and Advertiser," October 12, 1785, which says: "Last Wednesday the foundation stone of the Roman Catholic Chapel was laid (on ground lately purchased in the rear of St. Paul's Church and now set apart for divine service) by his Excellency Don Gardoquoi, Minister from His Majesty the King of Spain."¹¹ About that time another Capuchin, Andrew Nugent, arrived from Ireland; Carroll, however, could not grant him faculties. He preached several times at St. Peter's, and on account of his extraordinary eloquence ingratiated himself with the people. The consequence was, that the parish soon rebelled against the lawful pastor; the trustees directly demanded the removal of Father Whelan and the installation of Father Nugent. Archbishop Corrigan (l. c.) writes in explanation of such action, that "it should not be a matter of surprise, if the few Catholic faithful of that day, deprived of facilities for instruction in their religion, easily and almost naturally imbibed the ideas of their fellow-citizens regarding the management of churches. This spirit shows itself in two characteristic features: first, the desire to have as their pastor a priest who could preach eloquently,

¹⁰ Corrigan, *ibid.*

¹¹ *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, 1905, p. 219.

attract a large audience, and so increase the revenues of the church; secondly, the persuasion that the trustees, acting for the people, could employ and discharge a priest at will." These words of Archbishop Corrigan strongly confirm what we have stated in the chapter on Louisiana, and they also explain the happenings at Philadelphia in regard to the first German Capuchins. Father Whelan resigned in February 1786, and Father Nugent was appointed his successor in November. Father Whelan went to the West, and from 1787-1790 was stationed at Pottinger's Creek, Kentucky.⁷² However, he seems to have found no rest, a common experience in the case of those Religious who cease to live in community with their brethren; and, therefore, we find him in 1790 stationed at Johnstown;⁷³ ten years later he was pastor at St. Mary's, at Wilmington, Delaware, where he died March 21, 1806,⁷⁴ or according to others in 1809, and was buried at Bohemia, on the eastern coast of Maryland.⁷⁵

The unfortunate Father Nugent, probably, departed this life less happily. Andrew Nugent came from Dublin and had already experienced the severity of ecclesiastical censure. After some hesitation, Dr. Carroll reluctantly appointed him pastor of St. Peter's at the request of the trustees, in November of 1786; he sang High Mass on the day of dedication, November 4, 1786. The same trustees, however, who had a year before so earnestly demanded his appointment, were soon tired of him and insisted on his removal. Dr. Carroll personally investigated the case and removed Father Nugent; the latter, however, resisting the ecclesiastical authority, established a schismatic congregation.⁷⁶ In 1790, happily, he left our country and returned to his native isle.⁷⁷

⁷² Shea, *Life and Times of Archb. Carroll*, p. 272; *Hist. III*, p. 285; Spalding, *Sketches of Early Miss.*, p. 42; *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, 1904, p. 9.

⁷³ De Courcy, p. 350.

⁷⁴ Shea, *Life and Times of Archb. Carroll*, p. 454.

⁷⁵ *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, 1904, I. c.

⁷⁶ Shea, *Life and Times of Archb. Carroll*, p. 223 ff.

⁷⁷ *Archb. Bayley*, p. 43 ff.

2. *The First German Capuchins in the United States*

WILLIAM PENN said: "The labors of the servants of God ought always to be precious in the eyes of His people, and for that reason the story of their services is not to be lost but to be gathered up for edification." We have endeavored to gather some fragments relating to the first German Capuchins we meet with in this country; and we find the first trace of them in Pennsylvania, for which reason we open the chapter with the above words of the Father of Pennsylvania.

An ecclesiastical journal of the German episcopal city of Mayence had published the proposal of Rev. James Pellentz, one of the few German priests in the New England States, that he would defray the traveling expenses for one or two German priests, equipped with good recommendations and with an earnest will to devote their labors to the spiritual welfare of their deserted countrymen here.¹⁸ Thereupon Father Lawrence Graessel, a member of the suppressed Society of Jesus, in Bavaria, and two Capuchins obtained permission to go to America. John Carroll, in charge of the entire American mission at that time as Prefect-Apostolic, welcomed the Fathers at Philadelphia. He speaks of them in his "Reply" to the violent attack on the Jesuits made in 1788 by Rev. Patrick Smyth in Ireland.¹⁹ Dr. Carroll prepared a reply; however, by the advice of some friends, he did not publish it. In this reply he calls the two Capuchins "worthy and able laborers in the Lord's vineyard"; he appointed them to a station in the country, Father Graessel remaining at St. Mary's, Philadelphia. Whether the family name of both Capuchins was Helbron (Hellborn?), or whether their birthplace was called thus, from which they derived the name of "a" or "de Helbron," we have not been able to ascertain; Father John Charles was one, Father Peter the other. The former must have been a very eloquent orator, as his fame spread to the city after a short time.

In the city of Philadelphia, meanwhile, a movement

¹⁸ Shea, *Life and Times of Archb. Carroll*, p. 269.

¹⁹ Shea, *l. c.*, p. 310 ff.; *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, 1905, 193 ff.

arose amongst the German Catholics to establish a separate German parish. Bishop Carroll was not in favor of churches for separate nationalities in one place, and therefore, when a plot 68 x 198 near the old church had been purchased⁸⁰ he only gave his conditional assent to the erection of Holy Trinity Church, in the spring of 1788. In the above mentioned "Reply" he expresses his desire, that the new church may be "a monument of German piety." On November 22, 1789, Holy Trinity was dedicated, and five weeks later Bishop Carroll writes that Philadelphia has now two very handsome and large churches besides the original chapel;⁸¹ "near to the new church lives the above-mentioned Capuchin": it was Father John Charles Helbron, who signs in the registers as "primus curatus ad Ssmam Trinitatem."⁸² The other Capuchin, Father Peter, was stationed at Goshenhoppen, Berks Co.; he added a steeple to the church and put up a bell weighing 112 pounds. One of the Capuchins also attended Lancaster about 1790. In this year Father John Charles was recalled to Europe,⁸³ or, according to another report,⁸⁴ he set out for Europe on a trip to collect for his church, which was heavily indebted. Whatever may have been the cause of his journey, he never returned to America, for he became one of the martyred priests of the French Revolution, as we learn from a letter of Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Carroll.⁸⁵ In August 1791, his companion Father Peter was appointed by the bishop his successor, in which position he remained for five years, his last record being dated November 6, 1796. Then he was removed by the trustees, whose conduct he disapproved on account of their rebellious attitude toward the bishop. During the next three years he labored in various places, until, in the summer of 1800, he was sent to Sportsman's Hall, nine miles from Greenburg, in Westmoreland Co., Pa. He changed that name into Clear Spring, and

⁸⁰ Shea, l. c. 320.

⁸¹ Shea, l. c. 357.

⁸² *Researches*, 1905, p. 153.

⁸³ Shea, l. c., 269, note.

⁸⁴ *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, 1905, 153.

⁸⁵ Shea, *ib.*

erected the first church there, a log house, 26 x 20 feet. At least five counties were under his care, the Catholics being very much dispersed, and for some time another Capuchin, Father M. O'Flynn, aided him; this Father O'Flynn was also stationed at old Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk in New York,⁸⁶ and Bishop Flaget met him in Kentucky, in 1808.⁸⁷ Father Peter Helbron must have been an old man at that time; twenty years after his landing in America, Bishop Egan of Philadelphia, a saintly Franciscan, in a letter of October 8, 1811, speaks of the necessity of assigning him some assistance on account of his advanced age.⁸⁸ We close this little sketch of the first German-American Capuchins we know of, with the words of the historian Shea about Father Peter Helbron's death:⁸⁹ "This hard working Capuchin continued his life of toil on the Western Pennsylvania missions till 1815, when a tumor on his neck defied the skill of the country physicians. He visited Philadelphia, but his case was beyond remedy, and he died at Carlisle toward the close of 1816, while on the way to his poor home."

APPENDIX

3. *Other Capuchins in North America Outside of Regular Establishments*

FATHERS Whelan, Nugent, Flynn, and Helbron belonged to the Capuchin Order, but had left their European provinces and labored in this country freed from the rules of monastic community life. In later years several others led a similar life, some of whom we shall mention in this paragraph.

As already stated above, Father Sebastian du Rosey, chaplain on board of the French man-of-war *La Réfléchie*, after the War of Independence remained in America or returned later on to our shores, and performed missionary work for

⁸⁶ Shea, *ib.* 432.

⁸⁷ Shea, *History* 1808-1842. p. 270.

⁸⁸ Shea, *l. c.*, 213.

⁸⁹ *Life*, etc., p. 451.

several years in Maryland. Some documents give his name as Derozet or Durosey; Shea calls him Durosier and "a priest from San Domingo" and mentions him as pastor of St. Mary's in Maryland.⁹⁰ The Register and Diary of Bohemia reveals to the inquirer Father Derozet's presence there, February 13, 1797. The account books of the clergy of Maryland also contain his name several times. He died as pastor of St. Nicholas, December 27, 1813, and is buried near the church, inside of which a tablet bears his name. Brother Mobberly, S.J., in his Diary, says: "During my residence at St. Inigoes in St. Mary's County (1806-1812) we were deprived of a pastor for nearly two years. Meantime we were obliged to go to St. Nicholas' Church, on the Patuxent River, a distance of fourteen miles. After a few months the Rev. Mr. De Rosey, a French gentleman and pastor of St. Nicholas, agreed to give us church once a month at St. Inigoes, until we could be furnished with a pastor. He was a Franciscan (Capuchin) friar and, I believe, a very worthy man. He was a small man, about eighty-one years of age, and yet he was nearly as active as a boy. He was cheerful and agreeable. He was zealous and kept his congregation in good order... During the lifetime of Rev. Mr. de Rosey we paid him \$80 per annum..."⁹¹

In June, 1844, Father Ambrose Buchmeyer, a Hungarian Capuchin, assumed the pastorate of St. Nicholas' Church (Second Street), New York, and continued in active charge until his death, October 11, 1861. Archbishop Corrigan⁹² styles him "most zealous." He erected the present church, in 1848; in August, 1845, another Hungarian Capuchin, Father Felician Krebecz, became his assistant, and succeeded him as pastor in 1861. He built St. Nicholas' School in 1867 and remained in charge until his death, January 4, 1876.⁹³ Father Augustine Dantner, an Austrian Capuchin, was assistant at St. Nicholas', New York, in 1851, and in 1853 assumed the

⁹⁰ Life and Times of Abp. Carroll, p. 513.

⁹¹ Am. Cath. Hist. Researches, 1904, p. 7.

⁹² Historical Records and Studies, U. S. C. H. S., 1904, p. 297.

⁹³ l. c., p. 312.

pastorate of St. John the Baptist's Church, whither, in 1867, he called the Calvarian Capuchins to assist him; afterward Archbishop McCloskey confided this parish to the Fathers in 1870.*

From 1863-1868, and again from 1871-1874 another Austrian Capuchin, Father Restitutus Tamchina, was rector of St. Augustine's, Pittsburg, Pa. In November, 1873, Father Hyacinth Epp of the Bavarian Capuchin province, upon request of the bishop, took up his residence with Father Tamchina who being already old and feeble wished to retire. In 1874 the Bavarian Fathers took charge of that parish, and since then a flourishing new province has grown up in Pennsylvania, which stretches out its arms to several other States, even as far as Kansas. We shall speak of it hereafter.

Several Capuchins from Belgium and Holland came to the diocese of Green Bay; *e. g.*, Father Hippolyt Hoffen, about 1865, rector of the French church at Green Bay and diocesan consultor; some, like Father Augustin Spirings, afterward returned to their home-province, others entered into communication with the Calvarian province, or continued missionary work independently of our Order.

A Polish Capuchin deserves special mention, Father Xaverius Kralczynski. He joined the Order at Warsaw, in 1824, and labored with extraordinary zeal as lector of philosophy and theology, and later as missionary for the people. The Polish insurrection brought him into conflict with the Russian government: his monastery was suppressed, and the Fathers imprisoned. When liberated Father Xaverius awaited the restoration of the Order, but in vain, and finally decided to cross the Atlantic in 1870. He joined the Calvarian Fathers, but as his deficiency in German and English prevented his activity in their churches, Bishop Henni entrusted him with the Polish parish of Manitowoc, Wis., and in 1872 with St. Hedwig's, a young parish at Milwaukee, from which he was promoted to St. Stanislaus', the principal Polish church there. On Sunday, December 24, 1876, he had eloquently exhorted his people to prepare for death; on

* Historical Records and Studies, U. S. C. H. S., 1906, p. 133.

his way back to the parsonage this saintly Capuchin suddenly died, bewailed by his pious parish.

Another Capuchin of some reputation in Wisconsin was Father Cajetan Krauthahn of the Bavarian Province. Ordained at the age of 28 years (May 13, 1848) he had gone to East India as missionary, and after his return had acted for some time as spiritual director of the Sisters of the Cross in Switzerland. He landed in America in 1865. After a prolonged stay with the Calvarian Capuchins and also with the Menominee Indians at Keshena—of this we shall speak hereafter—he undertook the direction of the Catholic German weekly “Columbia” of Milwaukee, and died as its editor, July 17, 1878.

All these Capuchins, however, had not the intention to found a regular Capuchin province in our country; they came here as missionaries and placed themselves at the disposal of the bishops, who gladly accepted the services of able men in those times of need. But now we must make mention of a Capuchin who at least attempted a foundation of the Order in this country though without success; it is Father Fabian Bermadinger (Permadinger) of Austria. Upon invitation of the famous pioneer priest, Dr. Salzmann, Father Bermadinger came to Wisconsin in 1847, and in the early fifties he had established a quasi-community of three at Calumet, now Johnsbury, in Fond du Lac County. However, he renounced his plan and continued as missionary priest in various places until his death at Port Washington, July 22, 1867.

At the close of this chapter we add a few lines on the Capuchin Nuns. As it is known, St. Francis instituted three Orders, the first for men, the second for women, the third for both sexes. As the Capuchins are a later reform of the first Order, so the Capuchin Nuns are a later reform of the second Order; these also originated in Italy, under the direction of the Capuchin Lawrence Souza. In later years a female congregation of the Third Order has become known by the name of Capuchin Nuns, whose correct name, however, is Felician Sisters. The real Capuchin Nuns are not at present found in North America; but during the French Revolution several came from Amiens and

Tours to Baltimore in 1793 with the intention to settle within the United States. However, they were advised to proceed farther west, and went to Canada, thence to Illinois and finally to New Orleans; soon after they retraced their steps to Europe.**

CHAPTER V

IGNATIUS CARDINAL PERSICO, O.M.CAP., BISHOP OF
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, 1870-1873

THERE was a great deal of philosophy in the unphilosophical St. Francis. The end of man is happiness, and Francis aimed at happiness, happiness in the other world, and even this. So do all who enter a Religious Order. Happiness is their goal, and they find it in the steady and most perfect service of God. "I entered the monastery," the Religious says, "in order to dedicate all my powers to Him who has called me into His service, in order to die happily." Honors and dignities are mostly considered obstacles to such a service of God by saintly men, and for that reason they invariably strive to decline them in this life, preferring humility and the cross to grandeur and ease; even ecclesiastical dignities are refused by them. Until now, the Popes have offered the cardinalate to twenty Capuchins; one of these twenty died before the formalities were fulfilled, and eleven were successful in their urgent petitions to the Holy Father to be allowed to decline the Red Hat.** Eight, however, were compelled to accept, and amongst these was His Eminence Ignatius Cardinal Persico, a brief history of whose life we herewith present.

He was born in the beautiful Italian city of Naples, January 30, 1823, receiving in Baptism the names Camillo, William, Mary, Peter. His mother, from his early youth, discovered and fostered his inclination for pious exercises, and especially his interest in the lives of Catholic missionaries. His preliminary studies were made under the direction of the Jesuits, and, having attained the age of sixteen years he entered

* Shea, *Life and Times of Archb. Carroll*, p. 412.

** P. Ang. Eberl in *Kirchenlexicon*, under *Kapuzinerorden*.

the novitiate of the Capuchins at Sorrento, April 25, 1839, and thenceforth became known as Father Ignatius. God had gifted him with more than ordinary talents; after his ordination to the holy priesthood (January 24, 1846) he passed the Propaganda examinations at Rome for the foreign missions, and upon his own urgent request was sent to East India, in November, 1846, a twenty-three year old missionary. There he met with the saintly Capuchin, Father Anastasius Hartmann, vicar-apostolic of Patna and later (1850) of Bombay; Father Ignatius was appointed his secretary. In that position he worked incessantly, preaching the word of God, acting as professor in the seminary, and as collaborator and director of the famous paper "The Bombay Catholic Examiner." When in 1853 the deplorable schism of India was revived through the machinations of the Portuguese government, Father Ignatius Persico, together with Father William Strickland, was sent to Rome and England to arrange existing difficulties. They spread a little pamphlet among the people, entitled: "Notes on the present position of Catholics in India, being the matter of petitions presented to the House of Commons and the Court of Directors, on June 24, by Rev. William Strickland and Rev. Ignatius Persico, Commissaries of the Vicars-Apostolic of India." The government finally yielded to the most substantial claims of the Fathers. The success of this mission moved Pius IX to nominate Father Ignatius titular bishop of Gratianopolis and coadjutor to Monsignor Hartmann, March 8, 1854; in 1856 he was promoted to the vicariate apostolic of Agra. That year witnessed the Indian mutiny against the Europeans, and for half a year Monsignor Persico was detained in the Agra fortress as a prisoner. When he was released he returned to England. "English history," said the "Weekly Register" of London (Dec. 14, 1895), "will always have a paragraph for Cardinal Persico, by whose death the Holy See loses a diplomatic agent of renown and the Capuchin Order an exemplary friar."

During that sojourn in Europe Monsignor Persico joined Monsignor Hartmann (May 1858) at Rome, and with him

drew up a plan for the total reorganization of the Capuchin missions, which was handed to Cardinal Barnabo, the Prefect of the Propaganda;⁹⁷ both were experienced missionaries, but their views were misunderstood by several Fathers, and their regulations were changed later, as we have observed elsewhere.

Broken health compelled Monsignor Persico to leave the Indian climate 1860, after fourteen years of hard labor. Having somewhat recovered in 1866, he was directed by the Propaganda to Charleston, South Carolina, to take the place for two years of the absent Bishop Lynch. Monsignor Persico also took part in the Tenth Provincial Council of Baltimore, April 24 to May 2, 1869, and the Council accorded him a decisive vote, though Monsignor Lynch was also present.⁹⁸ This Council⁹⁹ resolved to petition the Holy See for the erection of a bishopric at St. Augustine, Florida, and Bishop Aug. Vérot of Savannah, Georgia, being transferred to St. Augustine, in 1870, Monsignor Persico was appointed bishop of Savannah, March 20, 1870, during the Vatican Council at Rome.

Before he left the Eternal City, he had a consultation with the General of the Capuchin Order, Father Nicolaus a S. Joanne, about the introduction of the Capuchins into his diocese. The General gladly appointed his exalted brother Commissary, and Monsignor Persico, traveling through England, requested the two Italian Capuchin Fathers Dominicus Cocchia of Cesinale and Aloysius of Scurcola, and Father Patrick, a Capuchin of Irish birth, to accompany him.¹⁰⁰ At that time the St. Joseph's Province of the Calvarian Capuchins had already established several monasteries in the States of Wisconsin and New York. Monsignor Persico was appointed Visitor for these by Father General; in September, 1871, he visited Mt. Calvary, Wis., where on the 24th, he gave his approval to a little pamphlet written by Father Francis Haas, entitled "*Der Kreuzzug der Unschuldigen*," i. e., "The Crusade of the Inno-

⁹⁷ An. Hartmann, by P. Ad. Imhof, etc., p. 404 ff.

⁹⁸ Acta & Decreta, Coll. Lacensis, III. 578.

⁹⁹ Congreg. I. priv.

¹⁰⁰ Anal. Cap., 1901, 91 ff.

cents in the Service of the Sacred Heart," and destined for the daily adoration hour of the school children. Persico also visited the other three establishments, St. Francis at Milwaukee, Our Lady of Sorrows, and St. John the Baptist at New York, consecrating three altars at the last-named church, June 22, 1872. The establishment of the Capuchin Order in Georgia, however, was not attempted, and the Fathers returned to Europe after they had distinguished themselves principally by their zealous assistance of the sick in the hospitals and of the prisoners. Monsignor Persico's health failed again in the southern climate, and thus compelled him to resign in 1873. It is worth recording that he had solemnly consecrated his diocese to the Sacred Heart, May 7, 1872.

Pope Pius IX appointed Monsignor Persico titular bishop of Bolina, June 20, 1874, and employed him for diplomatic missions, to Canada in 1874, to East India in 1877. From 1879 to 1887 he governed the diocese of Aquino in Italy, but was promoted to the archiepiscopal dignity in 1887 and sent to Ireland as papal envoy; (on his mother's side he was related to the English family of the Actons). On his return the Pope appointed him vicar of St. Peter's Chapter at Rome, and Secretary of the Propaganda, and on January 16, 1893, Leo XIII raised Monsignor Persico to the Cardinalate and made him Prefect of the Holy Congregation of Indulgences. His laborious life came to a close December 7, 1895, when His Eminence had nearly completed his seventy-third year.

CHAPTER VI

THE CAPUCHINS AT KESHENA, WIS.

WHEN the first white man entered Wisconsin, probably in 1634, he found on the western shore of Green Bay the Indian tribe of the Menominee, called by the French "*Oumalomins*" or "*Folles Avoines*" in consequence of their favorite nourishment, the wild rice that grew on the banks of their river Menominee.¹⁰¹ P. Charlevoix, S.J., speaks of

¹⁰¹ Wild rice, *Zizania aquatica*, formed an important part of the food of the Algonquin family of Indian tribes.

their extraordinary height, and De la Pothérie, whose history was published at Paris in 1722, and who had been royal commissioner at Hudson Bay, in 1697, says that "there are not many of them, that they are skilful navigators and live on sturgeons, game, and corn." Cadillac remarks, that wild oats grow in prodigious quantity near their village, "which they gather and harvest as we do our wheat. They boil it with game or fat... There is no nation in which the men are so well built...as in this one...they are not so swarthy as the others..." P. René Ménard, S.J., the first Christian missionary in this part of the country, died on his way to Green Bay, August 10, 1661. His companion (a layman by the name of Guérin?) reached the bay and labored there as lay-catechist for about one year. But the first priest at the bay was P. Claude Jean Allouez, S.J., who relates¹⁰² that, in 1670, the Menominees were almost exterminated by war. P. André, S.J., succeeded in persuading them to replace the image of the sun by the crucifix during their prayers for success in fishing. With firmness and patience he conquered their savage minds and remained with them about six years.

These Jesuit Fathers, the glorious veterans of Wisconsin Christianity, were the founders of the Menominee mission.

The tribe seems to have remained in the rice region until about 1820, when they ceded forty square miles of their lands to the United States. This land was in the vicinity of old Fort Howard, now a part of the city of Green Bay; in 1832, after some delay, the Indians consented to sell another part of their lands. In 1854 they settled in their present territory. In 1900 their reservation in the counties of Oconto and Shawano comprised 331,680 acres with 1487 Indian inhabitants.

In 1853 the venerable Franciscan missionary Otto Skolla¹⁰³ laboring since 1843 amongst the Wisconsin Indians, came to the Menominees at Oconto; he spoke the Chippewa dialect and was

¹⁰² Jesuit Relations, Cleveland edition, v. 58.

¹⁰³ F. X. Krautbauer's report, *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, 1887, p. 157, and Rezek, *Hist. of dioc. Sault St. Marie, etc.*, 1. 359.

consequently understood, if not by all, at least by many. In May, 1854, he accompanied them to Keshena, built the first bark church near Lake Keshena, and started a second in the village in 1856. He praises these Indians as "quiet and good natured people," and adds "that they completely renounce their hereditary idolatrous customs"; yet, he became the victim of vile slanders. Some Indians, overhearing him speak to his cat, claimed he had been conversing with spirits. They also imputed to him the opening of graves and the removal of the hearts of newly-buried corpses to prepare what the Indians called "bad medicine" for the purpose of injuring people. These imputations caused his departure in 1857. His successor was Father Anthony Gachet, a Capuchin, and native of Switzerland, who in the autumn of 1857 had been assigned to Wisconsin for the establishment of the Capuchin Monastery at Mt. Calvary. According to the chronicle of said monastery, from which we derive our information, he left Calvary May 19, 1859, in company with the lay Brother Vincent Engel, a Swiss Capuchin like himself. Father Gachet had, on his part, considered the establishment at Calvary merely as a furtherance of his own determined and cherished purpose, to labor amongst the Indians. Shea¹⁰⁴ writes of his work at Keshena: "The mission was steadily advancing... Bishop Henni had the consolation of confirming 230, in October 1860. Agonomée, the son of chief Oshkosh, with his whole family and others, numbering fifteen, were baptized on June 23, 1861, after long instruction and trial. Nearly two hundred others asked for instruction..." It is especially remarkable that since the departure of the last Jesuits from Wisconsin, the Capuchin Gachet was the first missionary to speak to the Menominees in their own language.¹⁰⁵ His knowledge of the Indian character inspired him to employ pictures and drawings in his instructions, in imitation of Father Claude Jean Allouez, S.J., the venerable pioneer missionary of Wisconsin. P. Gachet compiled a little grammar of the Chipewewa-Menominee dialect, and translated the gospels for the

¹⁰⁴ Shea, *History*, etc., 1845-1866, p. 639.

¹⁰⁵ *Kath. Missionen*, 1893, p. 147.

Sundays into the same. But the devil who had driven Father Skolla away, slept not; the principal difficulties were caused by the Indian agent, Mr. X. Huggins. In the spring of 1862 P. Gachet¹⁰⁶ left the soil of America, and arrived in Switzerland May 19, and by command of his superiors directed his steps, in January, 1863, toward East India, in Asia, where he filled the position of secretary to the Ven. Anastasius Hartmann, Capuchin missionary, vicar-apostolic of Patna, until the death of that saintly man. Father Gachet died in his native country 1889. Bishop Krautbauer of Green Bay says of his work at Keshena: "He has done very much to improve matters."

During the following four years the Indians were attended at intervals by the Rev. A. Meignault for three months, the Rev. X. Mazeaud for one year, and by others.

On February 20, 1866, P. Cajetan Krauthahn and Brother Lucius Fuchs (both Capuchins) set out for the Indian mission at Keshena from their monastery at Mt. Calvary. Bishop Krautbauer remarks, that "these Capuchins, indeed, brought new and active life with them." P. Cajetan's first impressions he relates himself in a letter¹⁰⁷ to his Superior of March 19: "... We drove into the village.... and noticed that but few people were at home. Not caring to stop at the hotel I had some one bring me the keys of the house. The entrance to this was blockaded with snow-drifts, and an icy atmosphere embraced us upon opening the door. Luckily, there was some dry wood in the room, but nothing else save a few plates and two bedsteads. A boy brought us some bread and butter, and Brother Lucius roasted the fish which we had purchased at Green Bay. Our couch was poor; I slept on the floor covered with a cloak and coat, while Brother Lucius, wrapped up in a blanket, reposed on the deerskin of the teamster. The wind blew through the crevices and the shattered panes and compelled us to start a fire at 3 o'clock in the morning. At daybreak we received wood, butter, sugar, tea, meat, and potatoes. Mrs.

¹⁰⁶ *Anast. Hartmann, ein Lebens- und Zeitbild, von Imhof und Jann, 469 ff.*

¹⁰⁷ Archives, Mt. Calvary.

Douseman, whom I visited, supplied us with blankets, and on the following Sunday the bed was returned that belonged to the rectory. The house being in need of repair, Brother Lucius is kept busy nailing, planing, sweeping and ordering, and the days pass in the twinkle of an eye. The Indians, who are some twenty miles off in the sugar camps, come in groups to pay their compliments and then return to the forest. Last Sunday I read the letter from the bishop to the few that were present, and stated that I would not interfere with their preparation of sugar, but expected that they all would appear during Holy Week. To-day we had a funeral. I had given orders to Brother Lucius to prepare roast pork and potato soup, but when the poor brother looked for the meat which we had brought from Green Bay, it had disappeared. Fortunately the thief—and he was no other than a dog—did not care for the fish... I am not in need of money!" He asks, however, for altar-linen and a few artificial flowers. July 17-26, 1866, P. Cajetan visited his monastery at Calvary, to regain his spiritual strength, so necessary to obtain good results in all missionary labors. In 1867, March 22, he reports, that during the thirteen months of his work amongst the Menominees he has baptized sixty Indians, which news caused great rejoicing to his brethren in the monastery. The Religious Orders are indeed great and extensive brotherhoods, wherein the glory of God directs all, and the interests of one are considered those of all his brethren.

Father Cajetan¹⁰⁸ had the church neatly decorated, and a new high altar built. He procured an oil painting, representing St. Michael, from Switzerland (probably from the artist Deschwanden), and a bell from St. Louis, and began the erection of a new church at Shawano, eight miles distant.

Father Cajetan's health, however, soon failed; in the summer 1867 Father Solanus Feddermann, an old Calvarian Capuchin, temporarily filled his position, and, in September, was appointed regular missionary of the Menominees. Brother Lucius remained at Keshena till August 4, 1868, about two years and a half. At present he is the only survivor of all the

¹⁰⁸ *Kath. Missionen*, 1885.

Capuchins who labored amongst the Menominees. Vincent Hammes, a brother of the Third Order, but living in community with the Calvarian Capuchins, became his successor. Meanwhile Father Cajetan had recovered, and June 24, 1868, he returned to his dear Indians, sojourning with them till January 1869, when obedience assigned him to Milwaukee.

Father Fidelis Steinauer, a native of Switzerland and a Calvarian Capuchin of more than ordinary virtue, was appointed missionary at Keshena, where he arrived at seven o'clock in the evening, January 18, 1869. The report of his diary is exceedingly touching, and reveals the great simplicity and self-sacrificing kindness of his heart. The fourth day after his arrival he was called to a dying person at Oonto, a distance of fifteen miles, on which occasion he heard the confessions of twenty-five persons at that place, baptized an Indian, solemnized a wedding and blessed the corpse of a drowned girl. Having thus faithfully discharged almost all priestly duties at one seemingly accidental call, he returned January 23. In the church he admired the painting above the altar, "a masterpiece of Deschwanden," his esteemed countryman; he likewise praised the excellent singing of the Indians at the services.

Father Fidelis, however, could not master the Indian dialect and at confessions always employed an interpreter, generally Ben Mexico; he states in his diary, that many children, who were able to read English fluently, could not understand the most simple English sentence.

On February 13-15, 1869, Mother Caroline of the Congregation of Notre Dame visited Keshena, to investigate the advisability of erecting a school; she received a favorable impression, and Father Fidelis was hopeful, and a Sister was expected daily, but the project was abandoned, as Mother Caroline considered it too great a risk.

The toils, however, the labors, and hardships of the mission proved too arduous and strenuous for Father Fidelis; his health suffered a severe shock, as also did his confidence. The results of his missionary work did not respond to his expectations, owing to the character of the Indians, to the doubtful conduct

of the government officials, and most of all to the great difficulty of securing reliable interpreters. These circumstances determined the Capuchin Superiors, after due deliberation with the bishop, to withdraw Father Fidelis, and return the station to the bishop. On November 21, 1869, Father Fidelis announced his approaching departure; he left Keshena November 28.

Thus from May 1859, till April 1862, and again from February 1866 till November 1869, nearly seven years, the Capuchins were in charge of the Menominee mission. For the next ten years diverse secular and Religious priests attended the mission, until the Franciscans undertook the work in 1880. In 1883 they succeeded in establishing a school, which is entrusted to several Franciscan Brothers and nine Sisters of St. Joseph. This school was attended in 1905 by 225 pupils. In 1886 the Sisters established also a hospital for the Indians, wherein four Sisters were stationed in 1905. At present three Franciscan Fathers provide for the spiritual wants of the Indians at Keshena with its three missions, Kinepowa, Little Oconto, and Stockbridge. The venerable old Father Blasius Krake, O.F.M., celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his arrival at Keshena in the summer of 1906. With twenty-five years of experience, he seems to be of the same opinion as the Jesuits, Father Skolla, and the Capuchins, when they abandoned the mission, *viz.*, that the Menominee mission offers but little hope for the future, other influences, especially that of the Government agents, being too strong among the Menominees.

Not far from the Menominee reservation, west of the city of Green Bay, there is a second Indian reservation for the Oneida tribe. Though the Capuchins were never in charge of this mission, yet Father Maurice Hens, a member of the Belgian Capuchin province, while performing missionary work at Duck Creek and Fort Howard about 1870, attended the Oneidas several times. From there he came to Mt. Calvary, where, in 1874, he was appointed rector of St. Lawrence College. Father Maurice died October 13, 1881, at Marquette, Mich.

This is, in short, a brief narration of the work and labors

performed by the Capuchins of the Calvarian Province of St. Joseph amongst the Wisconsin Indians.

On July 2, 1872, the Archbishop of San Francisco wrote the following letter¹⁰⁹ to the Capuchin Commissary at Calvary, Wis.: "I regret to have to inform you of the expulsion of the members of your Order from Guatemala (Central America) by the infidel Barrios, the new governor. The poor Religious, without a moment's warning or time to prepare, were marched between files of brutal soldiers a distance of 200 miles to Champerico and put aboard a steamer bound for this port where they arrived yesterday, some completely prostrated by the hardships of the journey and the anxiety and grief incidental to this cruel expatriation. The venerable Commissary is amongst the exiles and is now confined to his bed from the effects of such unjust and barbarous treatment. As they are extremely anxious to be where they can live up to the requirements of their holy rule, and as this is entirely impossible here, I must call your attention to the matter in the hope that you will be able to provide, if not for all, at least for some;...there are some fourteen priests, about eight lay Brothers, and the remainder are students (clerics), in all thirty-nine...The good Fathers of the Society of Jesus, with whom they stop, are very kind to them. I have informed the Minister of Spain in Washington, demanding in their name protection and relief, but I fear he may not be able to afford this...They are good, patient, exemplary clergymen..."

One of these students was Joseph Calasanctius, whose family name is Vives, and who at that time was a little over eighteen years of age. The leader of these afflicted Capuchins was, after the death of the Father Commissary Francis, Father Sigismund de Mataró, who under date of August 18, 1872, wrote to the Father General at Rome from San Francisco¹¹⁰ about their expulsion: "...June 7, when we arose from supper, soldiers entered our monastery...only one hour was given us to prepare for departure...we were brought into an

¹⁰⁹ Archives at Detroit.

¹¹⁰ Anal. 1899, p. 216 ff.

empty palace in the city of Old Guatemala and spent a sorrowful night. On the next day—amid the saddest lamentations of the populace, amid tears and deep wailing—on the other hand amid a hostile display so full of bitterness and animosity toward the Capuchins on the part of the barbarians, that two or three of the latter were severely or mortally wounded, we left that good city on wagons, surrounded by two or three hundred leopards, that is soldiers, who guarded us day and night. They, however, soon changed their cruel and harsh treatment, since we, imitating the example of the martyr Ignatius, manifested toward them true charity and benevolence. We arrived at the harbor of Champerico on June 16, after enduring the severest hardships and fatigues caused by traveling over bad roads. On the 18th, we were placed on a steamer and brought to San Francisco in California, reaching that populous city on July 1... I hastened with a companion to the Jesuit monastery...they, forthwith, prepared a hospice...and have since then acted toward us as if each Capuchin were a Jesuit; verily, we are encircled with mercy and love." So far the letter of the acting Spanish Superior, Father Sigismund. A more explicit statement of the reasons as well as the method of the cruel expulsion was published by the exiles at the time of their arrival at San Francisco, which we are able to reprint in full by the kindness of the Jesuit Fathers at Santa Clara and St. Ignatius' Colleges.¹¹¹

THE EXILED CAPUCHINS

"On the 30th of June, 1871, the present provisional Government took possession of the capital of Guatemala. From that day it became well known that their purpose was to make away with everything that would give religious support to the Catholic population.

"The first blow was to banish from the country the Jesuit Fathers, who had there a flourishing college. More than 20,000 citizens signed a protest against such an arbitrary and

¹¹¹ The First Half Century of St. Ignatius, by J. W. Riordan, S.J., p. 174-187.

despotic robbery perpetrated in the name of liberty, and petitioned to have the institution left undisturbed as a paramount necessity for the people. But they found no hearing, and that self-styled government, trampling on the will of the people and on every law of justice, kept its oath of destruction, and on the third of October, 1871, exiled from the Republic the learned and pious Society of Jesus, which for twenty years had been laboring in the pulpit and in the school for the cause of public morality and education. But that was not enough; another step in the name of liberty was to send into exile two venerable prelates, the archbishop and a bishop of Guatemala, repeating the old exploded calumny that they were opposed to the liberty of the country. In every case, church and private property were confiscated. On the 28th of August, it was rumored at Antigua that the Chief of Police had received orders to drive away, on that very night, the Capuchin friars, whose convent had been established in the city twenty years ago; but forthwith more than 5,000 people came forward and declared that, at the risk of their lives, they would never allow the good friars to be taken away. At this time the government dared not go further. But, although this very government asserted in its proclamation that it had never been intended to touch the Capuchins, yet the citizens were always in an alarming expectancy. Almost every night they patrolled the surrounding streets, and kept watch in the rear of the convent until they heard the usual midnight prayer bell, by which they understood that nothing new had happened. But as, in the name of liberty and progress, men of this communistic kind never desist from the pursuit of their fiendish object, at last the time arrived when the rights of the people were outraged and trampled upon in the sacred name of liberty. So, on the 7th of last June, the Government issued an order of the following tenor: 'For reasons of a high political nature, the Supreme Provisional Government has resolved upon the expulsion of the Capuchin Fathers of Antigua. To-day (Friday) a military force has been sent from this capital, with orders to take them away from that city and drive them to the

frontier of Mexico.' It was about half-past eight o'clock in the evening of the day appointed, when Colonel V. Trungaray appeared at the convent with soldiers, and presented, by verbal message, the order of expulsion, leaving no more than one hour's time for the Fathers to take their departure from the convent. They begged him to tell, at least, in what direction they were to be taken, but he would give no answer.

"Having learned from some among the soldiers that the march was ordered to the Mexican frontier, they protested against such inhuman violence, and asked to be taken to the seaport of San José de Guatemala, in order that they might pass thence to their convents in Europe. But the petition was not heeded. At 9:30 P. M. the Capuchin Fathers were forced from their own convent, and between two rows of bayonets were taken to the old municipal palace, followed by the people, who filled the streets with cries and lamentations at seeing their venerable and beloved Fathers thus dragged from them. At 10 o'clock the thirty-nine exiles entered the old palace, where all the accommodation they were allowed for passing the night was an unfurnished hall, with nothing to lie upon save its bare tile floor. The citizens, however, showed now more than ever, the affection they had for their benefactors, and brought them various articles of food and raiment, and alms for the journey. On the 8th of June, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the order to march was given. It would be impossible to describe the tears and wailings of the populace when it saw itself so brutally robbed of its friends and consolers, who had exposed their very lives for it during the epidemic of 1857, and given the example of every Christian virtue. About one o'clock, the Capuchins arrived at Chemaltenango, accompanied by two hundred men, the rest having gone back to Antigua to maintain order. Seeing that the march was through a deserted region to the frontier of Mexico, the Spanish Consul and other gentlemen remonstrated with the Government, and obtained that the exiles should be taken to the seaport of Champerico, but only on condition that they should embark for San Francisco, California, so that they might not stop at any port of Central America. This is why the

thirty-nine Capuchins are now in this city. By such an expulsion the revolutionary Government has lost much credit in the opinion even of those that were favorable to it. It is evident to all, that it was a piece of meanness and despotism against a few peaceable men, who had never meddled in anything political. In a journey of a day and a half, they could have been taken to the port of San José de Guatemala; but no, they were made to march for eight days to Champerico, by bad roads, wretchedly mounted, several of them very sick and infirm, and led through the largest towns, at Solata, Totonicatan, Solcaja, Tueraltenango, and Retalulen. Three nights only had they some rest at the parochial residences. Up to the last moment, Colonel Trungraray assured us that the Government would pay our passage on the steamer; but the fact proved the contrary. It was the charity of the good people that took pity on the poor Capuchins. We offer thanks to all those who voluntarily contributed to our relief, both in Antigua and in other cities, and who showed us such great and heartfelt affection. And, lastly, we thank very much the Jesuit Fathers of this city, who, with so great charity, have received us into their college."

The Jesuit Fathers, moreover, furnished to us for our history some valuable notes from their house-chronicle. From all these we collect, that in 1851 the mission at Antigua de Guatemala had been initiated by the Capuchin Francis de Bassost of Spain. The number of friars had increased; at the time of the expulsion there were thirty-nine Capuchins at Guatemala: novices with their Master, Father Gabriel de ?; others, clerics, that is students, with their Lector, Father Ignatius de Cambrils; the names of some of these we gather from a letter of Father Joseph Calas, dated Toulouse, France, January 20, 1873, addressed to the Jesuits at San Francisco: Father Joachim, his own brother by birth, and the Fathers Alexis, Balthasar, Desiderius, Firminus, Isidor, Xavier (Caspar, Melchior, Cajetan). The Brothers Santiago and Stanislaus probably were lay-Brothers. Of the other priests, Father Augustin de Llusanas had been Commissary General for the branches of the Third

Order in Guatemala; Father Stephen de I, a very eloquent orator, had been Vicar of the Convent, Father Sigismund de Mataró Guardian; the latter succeeded Father Francis as Commissary General of the whole establishment. For though of the flock of thirty-nine all but three fell sick after their arrival at San Francisco, all recovered under the skilled and affectionate care of the Jesuits, except one, the septuagenarian Superior. The recent sufferings had made serious inroads on his health, and he was removed to St. Mary's Hospital. The Lord called the venerable pioneer to his reward, July 4, 1872. At the funeral, two days later, the Most Rev. Archbishop Alemany chanted the Solemn Mass, at which besides the hospitable Jesuits and numerous representatives of the secular clergy, several Dominicans assisted, who had been expelled together with the Capuchins and transported by the same boat. Father Barchi, S.J., preached the funeral oration in praise of the deceased. A great consolation to the Fathers also was the charity and devotion of the faithful: "The church could not contain the crowds who came to show honor to the memory of one whom they rightly considered to have given his life for the Faith. After the Mass, the people filed past to touch the body with their rosaries and prayer-books..." A multitude of carriages followed the corpse to Calvary Cemetery, where one of the exiled Dominicans pronounced the last prayers. R.†I.†P.†

As the number of guests was considerable, and the stay of a very uncertain duration, owing especially to the long distance from our central government at Rome, twenty-one of the thirty-nine Capuchins migrated from St. Ignatius' College to Santa Clara, July 11 and 12. Eighteen Capuchins remained in San Francisco. With candid humor Father Riordan, S.J., relates that sometimes it was hard to repress a smile, when some tender-hearted daughter of Erin offered an alms to a bare-footed Capuchin on the streets of San Francisco, to buy shoes and stockings. The Spanish guests did not intend to remain idle; from September 1 to the 15th they preached a mission for the Spanish congregation at Santa Clara. The celebration of the feast of the holy founder of the Society

of Jesus, St. Ignatius, in 1872, at Santa Clara, was distinguished by the singular occurrence, that the celebrant and all the ministers at the altar were Capuchins.

Another memorable event occurred July 14. The above-mentioned Father Joseph Calas and eight other students of philosophy, took their solemn vows at Santa Clara. They had received the habit only three years before, at Antigua, Guatemala, but Pius IX remitted the fourth year of probation. On July 14, therefore, on the feast of the great son of St. Francis, St. Bonaventure, nine Capuchin clerics and two lay-Brothers pronounced their solemn vows. With less ceremony July 26, Father Joachim made his simple vows, the first novitiate of one year being over. Who would have thought, at that time, that these two Brothers were destined to ascend to high dignities within the Order and the Church, Father Joseph being at present a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church?

As there was no opening for the Spanish Capuchin community at San Francisco, or in California, the friends of the exiles prepared other means to help them. On August 8-10, a fair was held at the City Gardens, and the Jesuit report states, that some \$12,000 was the result!

On September 16, after a stay of two and one-half months, the last Capuchins left San Francisco, with Milwaukee as their destination. September 14, their revered Superior, Father Sigismund, celebrated a solemn Mass of thanksgiving at St. Ignatius Church, and on the same day he published in the daily papers of San Francisco the following:

CARD OF THANKS

THE EXILED FRIARS TO THE CATHOLICS OF SAN FRANCISCO

ST. IGNATIUS' COLLEGE, Sept. 14, 1872.

"On the eve of our departure from the hospitable shores of California, I feel in duty bound to address in my name, as well as in that of the Religious community of the Capuchin Friars, exiled by the present revolutionary government of Guatemala, as likewise in the name of the Dominican Fathers, a parting farewell to all the good citizens of San Francisco, who, during our sojourn in their midst, have never ceased to give us the

most splendid testimonies of Christian sympathy. Words fall short of expressing our admiration for the religious spirit by which the Catholics of California are animated, and our gratitude for all the many favors bestowed on us by them. Indeed, our hearts were far from anticipating the kind and generous reception we have met with in this land of true freedom. Poor and strangers, and with no other title to your sympathies than the fact of being the sufferers in the cause of God and religion, we were, beyond our merits and expectations, greeted by you with friendly love. We heard from your lips words of consolation and hope, and saw the hands of the rich and the poor open to aid us in our destitution. Yes, in your midst, Catholics of San Francisco, we forgot for awhile the sadness of exile, the hardships of a long journey, and the uncertainties of a gloomy future. We saw many eyes moistened with tears of pity and compassion for us, and we, too, raised to Heaven our eyes moistened with tears of joy to bless the Father above, whose loving providence never ceases to watch over His children.

"Were it in our power, we would gladly consecrate our lives and labors to the spiritual welfare of the Catholic community of this city. But circumstances beyond our control compel us to leave this land, where we have been witnesses of such tender piety and such generous charity. Whithersoever it shall please Divine Providence to call us, we shall never forget the numerous demonstrations of your kind sympathy. Wherever we shall find a home, there shall we tell of your Christian fervor and your generous hospitality; and we shall add that, while in the name of religion you came to the aid of the poor exiled friars of Guatemala, in the name of liberty you have protested against the despotism of those who usurp its sacred name to mask their wicked deeds of tyranny.

"Catholics of San Francisco and California, you have our deep admiration, our heartfelt thanks and our fervent prayers. Gladly would we know the names of all our benefactors and hand them down to the gratitude of posterity. But this is not in our power. We shall limit ourselves to mentioning the Jesuit Fathers whose guests we have been for two months and a half, and who have lavished on us their tenderest care. To the others we shall confidently say that their names are written in the hands and in the heart of that God who receives as done to himself what is done in behalf of his suffering servants.

FATHER SIGISMUND OF MATARO,
Guardian of the Convent of Guatemala."

To make the journey to the East the Capuchins had been supplied with civilian dress. Only obedience could make some of the older Fathers lay aside their habits!

Twenty-five of the thirty-nine Spanish Capuchins arrived at Milwaukee, St. Francis church and monastery, September 26, 1872; amongst them the Commissary-General Sigismund and Father Lector Ignatius with his students. When they reached Milwaukee the choice was left to each either to remain in the United States or to proceed to France. Several found that the climate of Wisconsin proved rather detrimental to their health, and therefore, in November, left Milwaukee for Europe; a number of Fathers and Brothers returned to their native Spain; the students with their Lector went to the convent of Fontenay-le-Comte, in the French province of Toulouse, amongst these Frater Joseph Calas, now Cardinal Vives y Tuto. Two priests, however (Father Stephen and Father Gabriel), eight clerics, and one lay-Brother remained at Milwaukee till February, 1873, and three other Fathers at New York till May, 1874.

In 1873 the Catholic martyr-president of Ecuador, Garcia Moreno, applied to the Capuchin General for a number of Fathers,¹¹² and his application was successful. In June 1875 seven Capuchin clerics crossed the ocean, amongst them Frater Joseph Calas, to continue their studies at Ibarra, Ecuador. He, however, remained only one year, when his broken health induced his Superiors to allow him to return to France; his brother Joachim either accompanied, or followed him to Europe, shortly after his ordination. Father Joachim ascended to high positions in the province, and whilst Commissary-Apostolic for Spain directed the Capuchin missionaries to the Philippine and Caroline Islands in the Pacific Ocean. The Caroline Islands lately came under German dominion, and the Capuchins of the Rheno-Westphalian province are in charge at present; our official statistics of January 1, 1906, the latest on hand, quote nine Fathers and nine Brothers in that field of labor, the only Cath-

¹¹² Anal. O.M.Cap., 1899, 218.

olic priests in the archipelago, with twenty chapels to take care of. The Philippine Islands became American territory by the war of 1898; twenty-six Fathers and twenty Brothers of the Capuchin Order were laboring there on January 1, 1906; we may properly add here, that the American Government has not raised any objections against the Capuchins found in the islands at the time of the war. For the sake of completeness we remark, that within the very last years Capuchins have also settled on the island of Porto Rico.

The most prominent of all the Spanish Capuchin guests of 1872 is Frater Joseph Calas. May 26, 1877, ordained to holy priesthood at Toulouse, he soon after was promoted to the rectorship of the Seraphic College at Perpignan. In November 1880 he experienced the trials of an expulsion for the second time, the French Government suppressing the college; Father Joseph transplanted it into the old Spanish convent of Igualada, not far from Barcelona. His brother Joachim, then Apostolic Commissary of Spain, called upon him as companion and adviser on his way to the General Chapter at Rome, in May 1884, to promote the union of the Spanish Capuchins with the whole Order, from which, since 1805, they had been separated. Father Joseph was retained in the eternal city. His talents became known to Leo XIII, who added honor to honor, until, on June 19, 1899, he bestowed upon him the Roman purple, making him Joseph Calas, Cardinal Vives y Tuto.

The present Roman Pontiff, Pius X, also distinguished Cardinal Vives with his special confidence. We may add, that the Capuchin Cardinal is a very prolific writer in all branches of theology. That we dare claim him as American, that he entertains a true love for and an ardent interest in America, is proven by his words recorded in "Analecta":¹¹⁸ "A Spaniard by birth, I am a Latin-American Capuchin by profession," which he uttered when the Latin-American bishops had elected him honorary president of their council.

¹¹⁸ 1882, p. 219.

CAPUCHINS IN THE WEST INDIES

THE Order also settled in the West Indies, a line of islands stretching from Florida to the mouth of the Orinoco River in the present South American republic of Venezuela. Cardinal Richelieu had directed the first Capuchins of the French Normandie province to these islands in 1633, about the same time as to Acadia. (Pietro Margry, Belain d'Esnambuc.) The Fathers Jerome, Marcus, Pacificus, and some others, probably six in all, are mentioned, in a register of the *Compagnie du S. Christofle*, June 4, 1636, being stationed on the small island St. Christophero (St. Kitts) of the lesser Antilles group, a little east of Porto Rico. From thence they could attend part of the surrounding group. March 23, 1637, the Propaganda approved a letter of the Provincial in Rouen, by which he directed Father Raphael de Dieppe as Superior, with the Fathers Joseph de Caën, Archangelus de Changoubert, John Bapt. d'Anledy, and Pacificus d'Eu, as well as the lay-Brother Paulin de Rouen to St. Christopher Island, "*et alias adjacentes*," i. e., and others adjacent. The French court took great interest in that mission, and under date of July 9, 1636, Louis XIII in a letter to the French governor, stated that he had taken the Capuchins under his special protection. Even this, however, was not sufficient to prevent persecution of the Capuchins: sometimes French officials, less humane in their methods than the missionaries, caused disagreement, and more than once English Puritans made their appearance. The principal station of the Capuchins became Guadeloupe, an island a little east of St. Christopher, with her two cities Port Louis on the northern, Basse Terré on the southern shore. The aborigines of those islands (Caribbeans) were perfectly uncivilized, even cannibalism prevailed; yet the Capuchins succeeded in planting stations at various islands and cities: on Marie Galante, Dominica, Martinique, St. Vincent—the map shows these islands stretching southward from Porto Rico to the South American continent.

We have already remarked, that P. Pacificus of the Parisian province had become prefect of the North American Capuchin mission in 1641. In 1647 he was commissioned to hold a visitation in Central America; he did go there with three very good Religious, and the Propaganda in a meeting of December 17, 1647, received his proposal to establish a college on the island Les Saints, just south of Guadeloupe, for the purpose of training Capuchins in the language and customs of that country. Thereupon this field of labor was again separated from the Acadian mission and reunited with the Norman-dian province. Other Religious Orders also worked on these islands, Dominicans and Jesuits. When the Acadian Capuchin mission came to a premature end, as we have seen above, this Antilles mission was in a better condition: under date of December 18, 1670, Louis XIV of France gave special directions to all his officials to aid the Capuchin Superior Fr. Ignatius de Rouen and his brethren. Another document (in *Code de la Martinique*, mentioned in the Propaganda March 1, 1689), signed by a Superior, Francis Boniface, in Port St. Pierre on the island of Martinique, praises the zeal of the adults there in attending the divine services and sending their children to Christian doctrine. The Capuchins had also spread to Santo Domingo, at least in 1686, when the official report first mentions this larger island, a neighbor of Cuba, as being a field of labor of our Fathers. But unfortunately there was not a sufficient number of missionaries available; the provincial of the Normandy province could not send more, though requested repeatedly; the Propaganda had enlarged the province in a meeting February 21, 1684, by adding the islands Granada, Tataruga, San Martino, and San Bartolomeo.

This whole French colony never really prospered materially, though the coffee plantations produced the best American harvest.¹¹⁴ The Capuchin mission on the Antilles islands was finally united with the one established on the South American continent, in Guiana.

¹¹⁴ Cantu, vol. xiv, ch. xii.

The principal works consulted are the following:

1. Bullarium Ordinis Min. Capuccinorum, i-x.
2. Analecta Ordinis Min. Capuccinorum, Rome, i-xxiii.
3. Franciscan Annals, Crawley, (Sussex) England, i-xxxi.
4. Die Kath. Missionen, St. Louis, i-xxxv.
5. Missioni dei Capuccini, by P. Rocco da Cesinale, O.Cap., Rome, i-iii.
6. Die Missionen der Capuziner in der Gegenwart, by P. Ad. Steidl, O.Cap., Meran.
7. Katholischer Kirchenatlas, and
8. Katholischer Missionsatlas, by P. Otto Werner, S.J., Freiburg.
9. A History of the Catholic Church within the limits of the United States, by John G. Shea, New York, i-iv.

THE REV. JOHN KELLY

BY REV. HENRY A. BRANN, D.D.

It is said that the late Rev. Thomas H. Killeen had hanging on the wall of the room in which he died, a likeness of the Rev. John Kelly, pastor of St. Peter's Church, Jersey City, from 1843 to 1866. One day the likeness was removed, but Father Killeen noticed its removal at once and had it replaced. It was among the last objects of affection his eyes rested on in this world. No one could be astonished at this affection for Father Kelly shown by one of the first boys of St. Peter's parish to become a priest through his fostering care. The number of vocations from that old parish, due to the interest taken in the Catholic boys of the city, could be counted by the dozens. Some were ordained for the diocese of Newark, many for Brooklyn, some for Buffalo and other dioceses; and all these priests cherished while they lived the memory of the venerable and saintly priest. One, Father O'Sullivan, became bishop of Mobile; another, the Rev. John McEvoy, was for years the chancellor of the diocese of Buffalo; Father Patrick Corrigan of Hoboken, Father Charles Reilly of St. Columba's, Newark, and others were all old St. Peter's boys.

Father Kelly was born near the town of Trillick, County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1805. He was an older brother of the late Eugene Kelly, the wealthy banker of New York. They were of good family, always remarkable for their faith and piety. One of Father Kelly's uncles was reputed a saint by the people of the neighborhood in which he lived and died. John, afterward Father John Kelly, came to America in his twentieth year, landing in New York in 1825. He had some classical education and an inclination to the priesthood, so he entered Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, where he studied for a few years and then entered the Society of Jesus as a postulant

at Frederick City, Md., in 1827. But after a few years' experience in the Society, he felt convinced that his delicate constitution unfitted him for the discipline required. He therefore returned to Mount St. Mary's, and on September 14, 1833 (in his twenty-seventh year) was ordained a priest by Bishop DuBois of New York. His first mission was as assistant in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York. He was soon, however, sent to the northeastern portion of the State to take care of the Catholics scattered around Lake Ontario, Saratoga, Lake Champlain, and up to Canada. In 1837, he was appointed pastor of a new parish in Albany, N. Y. There he bought from a Protestant congregation the still existing church of St. John, and ministered to the people until 1840.

In that year, such was his zeal for souls, that he volunteered to go with Bishop Barron to Sierra Leone, Africa. With the bishop, he was the first missionary priest in that savage region, now governed by Bishop O'Gorman. For three years Father Kelly, amid the jungles and swamps and exposed to the malignant fevers of northwestern Africa, tried to evangelize the pagan negroes, and with great success. These three years of missionary labor were the golden period of his devoted life. He always spoke of them with pleasure, and I remember how pleased he was, in giving instruction to the schoolboys in Jersey City, to tell them stories of the African negroes, stories amusing, interesting, and sometimes pitiful. He knew their language and I have heard him recite the Our Father in it for the instruction and edification of his school children. But his health soon failed. The African climate and its malaria did to him what they still do to the African missionary — destroy vital force and plant the germ of mortal disease. Always naturally frail, he was broken down when he left Africa and returned to America, to become in 1843 the pastor of St. Peter's Church, Jersey City, where he died on April 28, 1866.

When Father Kelly went to Jersey City the Catholics numbered only seven or eight hundred. The old stone church of St. Peter's, the only one there for many years after, was not yet fully equipped. There were no pews in it. There was no Catholic

parochial school or rectory or graveyard in Hudson County, In 1845 he built the rectory next to the church, at 56 Grand Street, and immediately after started a parochial school in the basement of the church. This was the only parochial school in Jersey City up to 1854, when he rented Washington Hall. The writer went to that basement school in 1849 and remembers how the tide sometimes came into it after storms and the boys amused themselves by floating around on planks. School could be kept there only when the weather was fine, but in that old basement Father Kelly gave some of his best and most entertaining instructions on Friday mornings after a special Mass for the children. He had one of the essential qualities of a good parish priest. He was a good catechist and he knew how to instruct children. In 1851 Father Kelly purchased five acres of ground, which he converted into old St. Peter's Cemetery, and here the very old Catholic families of Jersey City held plots. There he is buried among those who loved him in life.

The whole of Hudson County was then under his undisputed jurisdiction. But in 1852 he commenced to collect for the building of a church in Hoboken, which he transferred to his successor Father Cauvin, an Italian priest. This was the church of Our Lady of Grace. In 1854 he built the church of the Immaculate Conception, at the corner of North Second and Erie Streets, Jersey City, and for a time was assisted in its administration by a pious and zealous clergyman, the Rev. James Coyle, who afterward became affiliated with the diocese of New York and died pastor of Rondout, N. Y. The inception of many works in Hudson County was due to Father Kelly's zeal. Father Senez became pastor of the church of the Immaculate Conception, but changed the site to its present position in Erie Street. In 1856 the excavation of the Bergen tunnel for the Erie Railroad was begun, and in consequence of it there was a great influx of Irish laborers into Jersey City and into what was then called Hudson City, on the hills, but which is now a part of Jersey City. Father Kelly's assistant, Father Coyle, was appointed pastor of Hudson City, and officiated there for some time. He was succeeded by the Rev. Aloysius Venuta, an

Italian who changed the site and the name of the little church which Father Coyle had built, from St. Bridget's to St. Joseph's. The latter parish soon became a flourishing one, for there were twelve hundred Catholic men employed in building the tunnel.

Father Kelly interested himself also in the welfare of the German Catholics of Jersey City, and laid the corner-stone of St. Boniface's Church under the pastorship of Rev. Dominic Kraus.

Father Kelly's zeal never flagged, even in old age. In 1859 he built a new pastoral residence in Grand Street, resigning his former home to the Sisters of Charity, whom he introduced into Jersey City. Their first Superior was Sister Editha, and one of her novices was a Sister Guillaume whom some large Protestant boys, prompted by the Know-Nothing spirit which was rampant, struck in the face one day in the street. The Catholic boys of St. Peter's School, hearing of it, waylaid the assailants and tried to beat the bigotry out of them. In 1860, the city growing rapidly, Father Kelly built a new brick school on Van Vorst Street, near Grand; and in 1862 he bought thirty acres of land for the new St. Peter's Cemetery, now called the Holy Name Cemetery. Then, also, he began to build the new St. Peter's Church, which was almost finished when he died in 1866. Of the chime of bells in it, his brother, Eugene Kelly, the banker, gave the largest; the second was given by Daniel T. Murphy, a business associate of Mr. Kelly; and the third was the personal gift of Father Kelly.

Even the orphan asylum which was founded in St. Mary's parish owed its beginning to the thoughtful prompting of Father Kelly. The churches at Bergen Point and Greenville were daughters of old St. Peter's, and Father Kelly attended both places as out missions before churches were erected.

His love of the Jesuit Fathers, and his desire, often expressed, to see one of their colleges in Jersey City, became the inspiration of the founding of St. Peter's College in Father Kelly's old parish.

Father Kelly was a man of scholarly tastes. He knew French well and wrote English with some elegance. He had

a love for controversy and engaged in it with pleasure. His controversy on the school question, with one of his contemporaries, the pastor of the old Presbyterian Church in Washington Street, Jersey City, was published in pamphlet form; and his letters to the local newspapers were always pointed and interesting. He was also well versed in medicine, which he had practised as a missionary in Africa; and the physicians in Jersey City, especially Dr. Varick, who attended him in his last illness, had great respect for Father Kelly's medical science. In fact Father Kelly frequently made out prescriptions in the style of physicians, and the druggists always honored them as if they had come from a regular doctor. He took great pleasure in picking out some boys in his school and in giving them Latin and French lessons in his spare hours. As an orator, his weak voice, due to a throat disease contracted in Africa, prevented him from taking high rank. But his homilies and short catechetical instructions were models. He was a special friend of the first vicar-general of Newark, Rev. Father Moran, and of the first bishop of Brooklyn, Right Rev. John Loughlin, to whom he bequeathed his watch, which the bishop cherished as a relic to the end of his life. His favorite college was old St. Mary's, Wilmington, Del., which his classmate and friend Rev. Patrick Reilly, afterward first vicar-general of Wilmington, had founded. At one time there were many Jersey City boys in that school, to which they had been sent through Father Kelly's influence. Fathers Thomas H. Killeen, Patrick Corrigan, Henry A. Brann, John McEvoy, and Edward McCosker, were among the number, and had for contemporaries Michael A. Corrigan, afterward archbishop, Revs. Edward M. Hickey, and James Leddy, afterward priest in the diocese of Buffalo; these three were all from Newark.

I was Father Kelly's assistant for about a year before he died. But as boy, young man, and priest, I had known him intimately since 1849. I may say that I was always his "pet," partially due to the fact that my oldest brother, James M. Brann, was the teacher of his parochial school. When he was writing his controversial letters, he would take me out of the

school and make me his amanuensis, showing me where to put the stops and the printer's marks.

I met him first as a small boy waiting with my father in front of his church on a Sunday in April, 1849, after having been only a week in the country, and from that meeting until his death, he was my friend. Providence sent me to him as his last assistant. He caught pneumonia in performing a work of mercy, visiting the cholera patients quarantined on ships in New York harbor. The night before he died, in April 1866, I visited him in his room. He was in bed sick. He held his beads in his hands. I began to scold him for exposing his health when younger men could do his work. But he said to me: "I must do it, Henry; I must do it." They were the last words he ever spoke. Very early next morning I was called out of bed by the sexton of St. Peter's, who had rapped at his door as usual to awake him in time for the early Mass, which he always said at 6 o'clock. Receiving no answer to his call, the sexton opened the door of his bedroom and found him insensible. I rushed to his room, found he was not yet dead, and gave all the sacraments possible under the circumstances. And so this holy and faithful priest, the best I have ever known, went before his Maker, to render an account of his stewardship.

The people of Jersey City showed their love for him by erecting a beautiful monument, part of it a Celtic cross, over his grave. His memory is still cherished even by those who knew him only in their childhood.

N. B.—Many of the facts stated in this memoir are from a paper written by the Rev. James P. McEvoy, who still lives, and from the personal recollections of Mr. James M. Brann, who died in Jersey City in 1907.

OLD SAINT PETER'S
OR
THE BEGINNINGS OF CATHOLICITY IN BALTI-
MORE

BY REV. J. A. FREDERICK, BEL AIR, MD.

BALTIMORE is so closely identified with the rise and the progress of the Catholic religion in the United States, that a narrative of the first planting of our holy faith in that city must be for American Catholics a matter of very general yet uncommon interest — not that Baltimore is entitled, as regards this planting, to a conspicuous rank over other places by any priority of time. The Church was already established nearly a century in Maryland before Baltimore was founded; but it is, nevertheless, the peculiar glory of that city to have given “a local habitation and a name” to the primary see of the Union, and to have become, as it were, a second Rome for our Republic.

From the inauguration of that see till now, Baltimore has among us, in matters pertaining to the Church, enjoyed a prominence altogether unique, and exercised an influence well nigh supreme. To the establishment of the American hierarchy, more than to all other causes, are we to ascribe the vigorous growth and the marvelous spread of the Church in this country of ours. That sacred hierarchy had its rise in the person of the illustrious Doctor John Carroll, first bishop of Baltimore; here, under the favor of God's blessing, the tiny mustard seed found kindly soil and zealous care; here it flourished and developed into a mighty tree whose salutary branches now cover the length and breadth of the land.

THE FIRST MASS.

The offering of the Adorable Sacrifice is ever with us the starting point in the history of religion in a place. Respecting

Baltimore, we must admit that the beginnings of Catholicity are shrouded in obscurity. We have no sure record at hand to inform us when, and where, and by whom, the first Mass was said, either on the original site of the town prior to its erection, or afterward in the village. We can therefore form only conjectures and surmises, and rest these on very meager evidence, since reliable data seem to be for the most part wanting.

It was on March 25, 1634, that the Maryland pilgrims landed and settled in the southern part of the province, as contiguously as possible to their fellow countrymen in the colony of Virginia. The settling of the land to the northward was very gradual, and almost a hundred years passed before the town of Baltimore, being laid off January, 1730, was begun. The location selected was on the north side of the Patapsco River, upon land belonging to the brothers Charles and Daniel Carroll. The act of Assembly designated the site as "on and about the place where John Fleming now lives, and commonly known by the name of Cole's Harbour."

Charles and Daniel Carroll were the sons of the Catholic immigrant Charles Carroll, attorney general under Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore; and they had come into possession of Cole's Harbor by their father, who acquired the tract as early as the year 1701. Daniel, known also as he of Duddington, died in 1734. Charles, the survivor, was generally known as Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Esq. He was the father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Of John Fleming, who then lived on the southwestern part of Cole's Harbor, very little is known beyond the fact that he was a tenant of the Carrolls. In the court records of Baltimore County for the year 1724, mention is made of a "John Fleming now in the seventy-fifth year of his life, of which he has spent a great part in this country and paid his taxes; he is, moreover, burthened with a family," and hence he petitions to be levy free. This is probably the same person as the one mentioned before, and whose dwelling—seemingly the only house standing on the original site—is commonly believed to have stood near

what is now the intersection of Charles and Lombard streets. A wagon-road, doubtless an old Indian trail, ran close to this habitation, and was generally known as the Great Eastern Road, corresponding somewhat with the present location of South Sharp Street, from Baltimore Street to Lombard Street, and beyond.

John Fleming was presumably of Irish origin and probably also a Catholic. The Carrolls, being devout Catholics, were known to befriend their co-religionists; and this fact, coupled with the name "Fleming," affords at least a strong hint in favor of the Catholicism of their tenant. If he, then, and the inmates of his house were members of the Church, it is certainly not beyond the bounds of legitimate conjecture to suppose that they were at times visited by the priest, who on his circuit at Easter time, for instance, or on a special errand, as on the occasion of a marriage or of a death in the family, would arrange for a celebration of Mass in the house—a thing which is by no means of rare occurrence even now in some of our sparsely settled regions.

The Great Eastern Road, as remarked before, ran close by the house of the tenant. This highway was the main road from the west, as then understood, and through the country generally. Its southern branch led up directly from Port Tobacco, an old Indian town on the Potomac River. Passing northward through Upper-Marlboro, it afterward joined the branch coming eastward from Belhaven, now Alexandria, Va., and thence directed its course still eastward to Annapolis, where again its trend was northerly and toward Cole's Harbor, or the location of Baltimore. Here the deep waters of the Patapsco intervening, a considerable detour had to be made, until the river could be forded at the falls near Elk Ridge Landing; thence the road descended to the mouth of Ferry Branch or Gwynn's Falls, since become a part of Baltimore. From the locality of Baltimore the road now ran northeasterly to Joppa, to Old Baltimore, to the location of Havre de Grace on the Susquehanna, and thence to New Castle on the Delaware, and to Philadelphia.

On this great thoroughfare the early Jesuit missionaries

probably traveled to and fro in response to the call of duty, There were Catholics settled in Baltimore County, notably on Deer Creek, twenty years before Baltimore Town sprang into existence; and although these children of the Church had the Bread of Life broken to them in somewhat later times by priests coming from the eastern shore of Maryland, yet in the beginning, may not the first visiting Fathers have set out on their journey from points on or near the Great Eastern Road, such as Port Tobacco, or St. Thomas' Manor, or Annapolis? In such a case the house of John Fleming would have been a convenient stopping-place over night, and the reverend traveler would hardly have resumed his journey on the morrow without first offering up the Adorable Sacrifice.

Thus although the grounds for our conjecture that Holy Mass was celebrated on the site of Baltimore even before the erection of the town are slender, yet the presumption is not wholly devoid of a reasonable basis.

But how soon after the erection of the town may we suppose Holy Mass to have been said? On the list of primitive lot-holders there appear but two names borne by Catholics, that of Charles Carroll, Esq., the original owner of the site, and that of a near relation of the Carrolls, Mr. John Digges, Sr. Mr. Carroll is not known to have resided in the town, but Mr. Digges may have dwelt there for some length of time since there is evidence to show that he bought a lot on South Street, designated on the original plat as No. 54, built thereon, and held possession until the year 1748.

This gentleman was also the owner of an immense tract of land in the fertile and beautiful valley of the Conewago, then in the northern part of Baltimore County, but since the running of the Mason and Dixon line accounted as belonging to Pennsylvania. Here, in the vicinity of Hanover, he established a settlement, and thence built a road to Baltimore Town. This was as early as 1736, and Digges' Wagon Road, as it was then called, is now known as Pennsylvania Avenue within the city limits, and beyond, as the Reisterstown Turnpike. In passing, it may be of interest to note that West Lexington Street, from

Charles Street to Liberty Street, was originally called Conewago Street, and Clay Street was known as Wagon Lane, presumably in connection with this highway.

Mr. Digges had his sons, notably Dudley Digges, charged with his interests at Conewago, but he is not known to have himself resided in the settlement; his own home may have been, as remarked before, in Baltimore. In this conjectural home Holy Mass may have been said, but unfortunately we have no positive proof of it thus far.

Some facts, however, bearing on this subject must not be omitted. Two Jesuit Fathers, supposed relatives of Mr. Digges, were in Maryland as early as the year 1741, namely Rev. Thomas Digges and Rev. John Digges. The latter was known as John Digges, Jr., while Mr. Digges, the road-builder, is invariably styled John Digges, Sr. This manner of identification points evidently to a close relationship, such as parent or uncle; and if the reverend missionary had either father or uncle then living in Baltimore, what was more natural than for him to make a call now and then, and on the occasion of such visits to offer the Holy Sacrifice? For it was quite usual in those days for the missionaries to celebrate in private houses and in the midst of the family circle. To add, as it were, some color of truth to this supposition, an old manuscript catalogue of the Jesuits states expressly that Rev. John Digges died in Baltimore, December 3, 1746. But as this priest attended the Deer Creek Mission in Baltimore County about this time, it is highly probable that not the town but the county is designated.

THE ACADIANS AND MASS IN FOTTELL BUILDING.

But when do we meet with data more reliable? All writers on the subject are agreed that there must have been some celebration of the divine mysteries soon after the arrival of the Acadians, or French Neutrals, as they were commonly called. These Catholics, about two hundred in number, had been deported from Acadia, the present Nova Scotia, and landed in Baltimore in the winter of 1755-56. Griffith, who is generally

accurate and the first author known to the writer to broach the subject, says in his "Annals of Baltimore" that some of those unfortunate exiles were "quartered in Mr. Fottrell's (*sic*) deserted house, in which they erected a temporary chapel." As may be observed, no date is assigned by the cautious annalist to the improvised chapel, though one is free to infer that the arrangement for divine services was made very soon after the French exiles had taken possession of the deserted house.

B. U. Campbell, whose contributions to the Church's local history are highly valued, wrote later than Griffith, and he furnishes some interesting details. "Here (in Fottrell's house)," says he, "it is believed the holy sacrifice of the Mass was first offered in Baltimore. The priest who was stationed at the Manor occasionally visited Baltimore and celebrated Mass." Finally, on the authority of a gentleman, who, he tells us, was one of the little congregation in Baltimore in 1768, he adds: "The Rev. Mr. Ashton, who at that period was the resident priest of Carroll Manor, visited Baltimore once a month," etc. The careful reader will take note that Campbell does not state positively when and where the first Holy Mass was offered in Baltimore. He says simply, *it is believed* to have been at that time, and in that house; for in truth it may have been earlier and elsewhere as already shown in this article.

THE FIRST PRIEST.

With greater assurance, however, Campbell designates the priest stationed at Doughoregan Manor as the first officiating minister. This, it would seem, can not be admitted without some reserve and further explanation. It may, indeed, be questioned if there was a priest residing at the Manor so early as the year 1756; in fact very few of the clergy resided there at any time. The home of the Carrolls was at Annapolis, where the family had a chapel and apparently also a domestic chaplain from a very early day. The mansion at Doughoregan seems to have been used rather for a summer residence; yet it is quite possible that the chaplain may have accompanied the family in

the summer of 1756, and may have, as Campbell tells us, proceeded from the Manor to Baltimore Town at the pious summons of the forlorn Acadians.

But cautiously as one may grant this much, it can not be further conceded that the chaplain at that period was the Rev. Mr. Ashton, if by that name we are to understand Father John Ashton, and by that period, the year 1756, since it is known with certainty that Mr. Ashton was, at the time mentioned, but fourteen years of age, not ordained, of course, and not yet come into the country. Not till twelve years later do we hear of him as on the missions of Maryland. Are we, then, to suppose that no missionary attended Baltimore before the landing of Father Ashton? Such a supposition can hardly be admitted. The numerous body of French Catholics was certainly not left those many years without religious consolation; and furthermore, as we know, other children of the Church were beginning to take up their residence in town.

Thomas Scharf, in his "History of Baltimore City and County," makes note of a school opened in the village in 1757, by Mary Ann March, a Catholic, and shows that many scholars were taken from the Protestant schoolmaster and forthwith sent to the new school. Now this successful school-mistress would hardly have ventured upon such an enterprise without the prospective aid or promised support of her co-religionists, who must, therefore, as we think, have been at hand. Finally, as we shall see later on more fully, the first church property owned by Catholics in town, was bought as early as June, 1764, three years before Father Ashton's immigration.

What Father, then, if not Ashton, attended the Acadians and other Catholics in Baltimore in those early days? The writer is at loss to tell, for the answer will depend greatly upon first ascertaining the mission or locality whence the Reverend Father came, and this is still in dispute.

Deer Creek, about thirty miles northeast of Baltimore, was at that period a missionary station in Baltimore County, and of it mention has been made already in connection with Rev. John Digges, Jr., who is supposed to have died there in 1746.

Father Digges was succeeded by Rev. Bennett Neale, S.J., a grandson of Captain James Neale, a brother also of Rev. Henry Neale, S.J., and a great uncle of Archbishop Neale. This Father, who was for nearly a quarter of a century in charge of the Deer Creek Mission, may have attended Baltimore, but in spite of some vague tradition in favor of Deer Creek, there are no convincing proofs at hand. The missionary's residence, built about 1741, and once known as "Priest Neale's Mass House," is still standing, about six miles north of Bel Air, Md., in a good state of preservation and is inhabited to-day. Its locality is still known as Priestford, and the Great Eastern Road, spoken of and described before, was not very distant. Rev. Bennett Neale's missionary circuit is known to have included, at least for a time, the Conewago Settlement, which lay distant about forty miles toward the northwest, whence also one could have traveled to Baltimore Town by Digges' Wagon Road. Of the extent of his circuit southward we know, unfortunately, almost nothing; yet it must have taken in Joppa, then the county seat, and all that region contiguous on Bush and Gunpowder rivers. Scharf, in his "History of Baltimore City and County," speaking of the primitive days of the Church in Baltimore, refers to Father Neale, but says nothing of his ministering there.

It is possible that the mission house of the Jesuit Fathers at Bohemia in Cecil County, Md., supplied the missionary for Baltimore, for the journey could have been made very readily by boat across the waters of the bay. Indeed, at one time the writer flattered himself that he had come upon the very data requisite for proof. In an old journal of accounts, once kept at Bohemia, he discovered some entries which seemed to point to Rev. John Lewis, S.J., as the man beyond all doubt. Here are the items: "Expended by Rev. Mr. Lewis on a journey to Baltimore, 9 shillings." This entry was made in 1753. Three years later appear two other items, both recorded under the same date, namely June 11, 1756. "To traveling expenses to Baltimore, 10 shil. 10½ pence." "To ye French Neutral, 11 shil. 3 pence." At first sight this looked like very satisfactory evidence in favor of a sacred ministration in Baltimore Town

by the gifted and saintly Father Lewis, afterward vicar-general of the Catholic clergy in Maryland, and their first choice for the post of administrator-general. But upon reflection it seemed more reasonable to put a different construction on the wording. The entries read Baltimore and not Baltimore Town, as the village on the basin of the Patapsco was then commonly called. The county, then, and not the town, is meant, and the name of the county in turn stands for the mission within its borders, namely Deer Creek. The following entry in the same journal makes this quite plain: "David, formerly (Rev.) Mr. Neale's negro at Deer Creek in Baltimore, etc." Father Neale was, then, residing at Deer Creek, Baltimore County.

As for "ye French Neutral," it must be borne in mind that about five hundred of these wretched exiles had also been taken up the Delaware bay the previous November, and probably it was one of these who found his way to Father Lewis at Bohemia to become the object of his bounty. Before parting finally with Bohemia and Father Lewis, it must be admitted that the combination in that old journal, of "Baltimore," "French Neutral," and "1756," as it stands on the same page, is a singular and striking coincidence, to say the least. Still, such things occur constantly in the experience of every investigator. Data, like other sublunary things, turn out to be not what they seem, and the sweet fruit of assured success that lured you on is changed into a bitter morsel of disappointment.

Search in northern Maryland, then, fails to furnish our coveted prize — the name of that missionary who attended Baltimore Town in the days following closely upon the arrival of the Acadians. We must, hence, extend our inquiry in other directions.

Fifteen miles due west of the Monumental City, in a region once commonly known as Elk Ridge, and of which the present "Landing" is but a reminiscence, is situated the old plantation home of the Carrolls — Doughoregan Manor — with its ancient mansion house and chapel still standing and in use. Here Charles Carroll of Carrollton and others of his kin lie buried. The mansion in part at least dates back to the year 1717, and

it is highly probable that the chapel also in some form, if not in its present one, has existed from approximately as remote a period. From this ancient shrine, if we are to give credence to the tradition recorded by Campbell, Rev. Mr. Ashton wended his way to Baltimore Town, and held divine service in the unfinished and abandoned Fottrell building, where some of the Acadians had found a temporary refuge.

This tradition, though certainly at fault as regards Rev. Mr. Ashton, who had not yet arrived in the country, nor even been ordained, ought not perhaps to be rashly and wholly rejected. May it not be that, by reason of some similarity of sound or appearance two names have become confounded, and that the more recent and popular one has usurped the place of the older and true one? Substitute Ashbey for Ashton, and the chief difficulty that had confronted us is at once removed; for in our supposed year — the year 1756 — Rev. James Ashbey was not only in Maryland, but was the Superior of the missions; the very man, therefore, to whom the extraordinary case of the two hundred Catholic exiles would very probably be first submitted. And what more natural than that he, the Superior, should interest himself in the matter and come in person to arrange for and begin the holy work of ministration among the poor outcasts? Whether he continued his personal ministration for any length of time can not be decided, but as his own home was on the Potomac River, at St. Thomas' Manor in Charles County, he probably appointed some missionary who had a nearer residence. That this was actually at Doughoregan can not be affirmed with certainty; yet it would appear that the same Father who ministered at Doughoregan also officiated in Baltimore, hence the long association of Carroll's Manor with the first Catholic congregation in town.

But how shall we account for the name Ashton supplanting that of Ashbey? In the first place, Father Ashbey, like many of the early missionaries, had two surnames; he was known not only as Mr. Ashbey, but also as Mr. Middlehurst. This of itself would lead to confusion. Then again, he passed away early from the scene of his labors, dying in September 1767,

that is, forty-eight years before the demise of Father Ashton. The latter was a man of brilliant parts. He held the important post of procurator-general for eighteen years, and in the discharge of that office he must not infrequently have come to Baltimore on business relating to the Church. He even may have regularly officiated in the town the first years after his arrival on the missions. Thus his name became only too exclusively identified with the primitive days of the Church in the place. Finally, it is evident that Campbell gathered much of his information not from original sources, but from hearsay, and hence was liable to fall into error.

Our last claimant for the honor of having in the beginning supplied Baltimore Town with the service of a priest is White Marsh. This mission is situated in Prince George's County, near the confluence of the Big and Little Patuxent. It is distant from Baltimore about thirty-two miles, from Doughoregan Chapel about twenty-five miles, and from Annapolis fourteen miles. About its early history little is definitely known. The land is said to have been acquired about 1724. In 1748 Father Robert Harding is set down in the catalogue of missionaries as laboring in Prince George's County, which seems to indicate a residence already established at White Marsh. Shea remarks: "White Marsh is said to have been founded, but was probably revived, in 1760." All this obscurity militates against its claim. On the other hand there are some things which are most favorable.

According to a memorandum furnished the writer and taken from "The Mirror" of July 25, 1874, "Father Haspin from White Marsh was the first priest to say Mass in Baltimore." But there is no Father Haspin to be found on the list of early missionaries. The nearest approach to the name is Harding, Rev. Robert Harding, mentioned before. He, however, left Maryland about 1750, to reside in Philadelphia.

On June 4, 1764, Rev. George Hunter purchased the first Catholic church property in Baltimore. The deed of conveyance mentions him as of Prince George's County, in other words, of White Marsh. His location there, however, could

have been only temporary, for being the Superior at the time, his regular residence must have been at St. Thomas' Manor, Charles County. But, be that as it may, we have here clearly a link between White Marsh and Baltimore, and one suggesting, in a manner, some previous relationship. Father William P. Treacy (*Catalogue of Early Jesuits in Maryland*) tells us that "Rev. Bernard Diderick attended Baltimore and Elk Ridge from 1775 to 1784," but says nothing of his residence. If this clergyman did not make his home at Elk Ridge with the Carrolls, then his nearest mission-house would be White Marsh, and the most likely dwelling-place for him. Finally, among the Jesuits themselves, they at least who have given the subject some special thought, there seems to be an opinion more or less general — a family tradition, so to speak — in favor of the claims of White Marsh. And in fact, if it be permissible to identify with White Marsh, as probably we ought, the two Carroll chapels, the one at Annapolis and the other at Doughoregan Manor, then its claims are easily superior to those of any rival.

And now to sum up: With the meager data that we possess at present, we have been able to form some plausible conjectures, forsooth, but to reach no sure and definite conclusion. We shall need more light and clearer proof before we can announce with any assurance who was the first priest to offer the holy sacrifice of the Mass in Baltimore, and who were the missionaries after him that attended the faithful before the appointment of Rev. Bernard Diderick in 1775. All that we can say is, that before the year 1730, perhaps some traveling missionary, like Father Joseph Greateon, officiated in some private house on the original site of Baltimore, and that afterward, perhaps, in the town the same was done successively by Father John Digges, Jr., Father Robert Harding, Father James Ashbey, Father George Hunter, Father John Ashton. To these conjectured names might, moreover, be added those of Father Bennett Neale, and of Father John Lewis, and a place assigned to them between the names of Fathers Harding and Ashbey.

CHURCH RECORDS.

When we bear in mind that the Catholic Church, here in Maryland, is coeval with the first founding of the colony, that the labors of her priests date back to the very day of the arrival of the Ark and the Dove and the landing of the pilgrims, we are surprised to find the records of those many years so scanty and few. Comparatively little has come down to us from the past regarding the early missionaries themselves, their various fields of labor, and the work which they accomplished.

This dearth of historical data is owing to various causes. Throughout nearly the whole of the Colonial Period the open exercise of our holy religion was proscribed by law, and whatever was done in this respect had to be done in quiet and secrecy. Many of the Fathers had aliases, or double names, by which they were known. Little was committed to writing, and of course nothing or next to nothing was published by them. Where accounts are given the records are obscure, and at times purposely disguised. Few records were kept of baptisms, marriages, and burials. Common prudence may have dissuaded therefrom, or, what is equally probable, the missionaries being so few in numbers, their charges so very extensive and laborious, had little time to make, and slight convenience to preserve, such records. They were almost constantly in the saddle, and the sacraments were administered and the sacred offices performed here, there, and everywhere, with but little chance for jotting down a record. Even where we know registers to have been kept, they are in many instances no longer to be found, having been lost by one or another of the accidents to which such frail material is liable. Specially deplorable are the many losses occasioned by fire. Such an accident, about 1851, destroyed the sacristy of Doughoregan Chapel, and with it the registers and papers kept there.

And yet, in spite of all that has just been said, there is still on hand a mass of documentary matter, which is even now awaiting the patient research and elaboration of the historian to make our local annals replete with the narration of deeds

and events, which by turn will challenge our admiration and edify our souls, touch our sympathies or provoke our just indignation, make us feel proud of our Catholic heritage and raise our hands to heaven in thanksgiving or, perhaps, hang our heads in confusion. But a better day is already dawning. The Jesuits at Georgetown are establishing a chair of Colonial History in their university, and before long Baltimore must have its Catholic Historical Society, for the times are at length ripe for it.

FIRST CHURCH PROPERTY.

The fourth day of June 1764, will be forever a red-letter day for the Catholics of Baltimore. On that day Rev. George Hunter, S.J., purchased from Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Esq., the lot, number one hundred and fifty-seven (157) in Baltimore Town, and paid him in hand six pounds sterling money. This was the first property acquired by the Church in the Catholic metropolis, a quarter of a century only before the erection of the see of Baltimore.

The deed of conveyance is not found recorded in the City Land Office, and it was only after a long and persistent search that the writer was fortunate to find a copy of the document at Annapolis. Father George Hunter was at the date of the purchase Superior of the missions, and according to the indenture a resident of Prince George's County; which would seem to indicate that he was then, at least temporarily, living at White Marsh. Charles Carroll, Esq., was not he of Carrollton, but the latter's father, also known as he of Doughoregan. Lot No. 157 was situated not on Charles Street, as it is sometimes erroneously stated, but on Little Sharp and Saratoga streets, that is, at their intersection. Little Sharp was then known as Forest Street, and Saratoga as North West Street. On these grounds stood the first Catholic Church edifice erected in Baltimore. Its site is now occupied by the old Calvert Hall building, a large brick structure with Gothic front and high stone steps, the property at present of ex-Governor Brown. Directly across Little Sharp Street, west, is the present Royal Arcanum build-

ing, and diagonally across Saratoga Street, southwestward, is the Hotel Rennert. That additional part of the property, afterward known to be situated on the corner of Charles and Saratoga streets and extending toward Little Pleasant Street, was Lot No. 156, an adjoining lot acquired very many years later by Archbishop Carroll from Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Lot No. 157 was, at the date of its purchase, the extreme northwest angle or limit of the town land; and Forest Street (Little Sharp) forming then the western outskirt or boundary line of the town, rose grandly up the hill, not a mere lane or alley as now, but a broad thoroughfare, like Liberty Street close by, and with a width four times that to which Little Sharp has been narrowed. The location was the most elevated in the village and the spot, one might say, ideal. About it and beyond, stretching to north and west, was the primeval forest with its varied species of finest timber, superb trees, for which the environs of Baltimore are still famed. On the horizon, toward the setting sun in summer, the eye might have discerned a break or cleft in the forest, where Digges' lumbering wagon-road emerged; and, perchance, the eye might have detected at the same time, hard by, a clearing where stood the "One Mile House" or tavern, destined to be turned some years after into the hallowed home and pious halls of learning of "the French Gentlemen" — the Sulpician St. Mary's Seminary. Following the horizon thence southward, you might have espied at a greater distance Mount Clare and perhaps caught a glimpse even of the splendid mansion of Charles Carroll, Barrister; and yet farther beyond, you might have seen the dense smoke rising from the Baltimore Iron Works, built by the Carrolls and Taskers at the mouth of Gwynn's Falls. Directly before you, as in a vast amphitheater, lay now in all its pristine beauty the shimmering Patapsco with its well-known early divisions — Spring Garden, Basin, and Harbor. To the left, at the harbor's front, you viewed Fell's Point — as yet but a land of promise — with only a very few straggling houses to arrest attention, but in due time, though the years pass slowly, to be honored with the distinction of possessing the second Catholic temple,

St. Patrick's. Below your gaze, still looking eastward but farther to the left, there looms up Jones Town or Old Town, already a compact settlement on the left bank of the Falls. And now, too, but closer to one's feet, you looked down upon the winding stream, known as the "Falls," and upon the "Marshland" and the "Meadow," and to your attentive ear might even then rise the song of the boatman, as he poled or steered his laden barge through the great loop of the Falls, at the foot of the very hill whereon you were standing.

Above that rocky bank, just where the stream curved farthest southward, Edward Fottrell had built, but never completed, the house which for a time afforded shelter to some Acadians, and even to the blessed Lord in His sacrificial presence. It stood near the northwest corner of Calvert and Fayette streets, but had probably now already disappeared. Beyond that point southward, but close by, ran the one long street of the town — Market or Baltimore Street — then, as now, the main thoroughfare. Its scattered, irregularly-lined houses dotted the way from the "Marsh" to the great gully near Forest (now Sharp) Street, where it was crossed by the Great Eastern Road, an oldtime Indian trail, as said before, and now only a partially cleared wagon road, but already the forerunner of the National Pike and of the great eastern and western trunk lines. Sidling up the hill directly toward you this road approached within hallooing distance and having formed, as may be supposed, a junction with the wagon-road from Conewago, it descended the steep declivity which faced the great loop of the Falls on its western bank.

But beautiful as was the panorama spread out before one's gaze, one could not have helped pronouncing the spot deserted and lonely, for few and sparse were the buildings in its neighborhood. No residence north or west; a very few, perhaps, at the foot of the hill, on Conewago (now West Lexington) Street; one residence on North West (now Saratoga) Street, corner of Charles; across Charles Street a small house of worship belonging to the German Presbyterians; down Charles Street near New Church (now East Lexington) Street, on the left hand,

old St. Paul's Church, and opposite to it, on the right, the little red hip-roofed parsonage; and thence down the street all the way to Market Street not another dwelling. Beyond Market Street, near Lombard Street, was "French Town" — the little settlement of the Acadians.

In spite, then, of the beauty and the prominence of the location, the purchase of 1764 must have been for not a few years ill suited for the residents of the town, since the majority of the people lived at a considerable distance, and the high sand-hill was hard to climb, both summer and winter.

FIRST CHAPEL.

The newly purchased lot seems to have lain idle for some years before any attempt was made to erect a building thereon; yet, meanwhile, it may have been used already as a place for Christian burial. The Fottrell building could not have served long for a chapel, and the celebration of Mass having ceased there, the faithful were, no doubt, accustomed to assemble in some private home, possibly at Mr. Richard Whelan's, according to an old tradition. In the year 1770, however, the Catholics of the town began to bestir themselves, and, says Griffith, "Messrs. (John) McNabb, (Robert) Walsh, (William) Stenson, (Michael or Peter) Houk, (John) Hillen, (Henry) Brown and (Richard) Whelan with the French emigrants and others . . . erected a part of St. Peter's Chapel."

The site selected for this primitive part was the northwest corner of the lot, which was also the point most elevated. The building, it seems, fronted on Forest (Little Sharp) Street, which having not yet been contracted to a narrow lane as now, was considered more eligible than Saratoga Street. Moreover the nature of the site, and the ancient practice of facing eastward at worship, favored the orientation. The dimensions of the edifice are said to have been twenty-five by thirty feet; the style was that of a plain two-story residence with high gables, and the material was the common red brick. Outwardly there was nothing to distinguish this structure as a church or chapel

and, in fact, it could not well have been thus fashioned at the time, for the law prohibited Catholics from having any public house of worship, Mass and all other religious services being tolerated only in the privacy, as it were, of the domestic circle.

Slow was the progress made in building, and before the completion of the edifice the promoters of the enterprise became insolvent and a suit was entered in chancery for a debt of 217 pounds current money, that is, about \$575; no insignificant amount in the eyes of our impecunious ancestors, though to us the sum may appear rather trivial.

For want of other defendant the case was entered on the docket of the March term of court 1773, as against Francis Laurentius Ganganelli, that is, the then reigning Roman Pontiff, Clement XIV. The plaintiff was John McNabb, who, be it observed, brought suit not in his own behalf, but "for the use of the assignees," as stated on the docket. Henry Brown, merchant, Baltimore Town, furnished special bail. The docket also shows that "a short note (had been) filed, and a copy sent," and that "both writ and copy (were) to be set up at the door of the Roman Catholic chapel and at the courthouse door." The case dragged on through several terms of court. The writ citing Francis Laurentius Ganganelli was returned "Non Est," and finally, in 1774, the case was "struck off (the docket) by order of the plaintiff's attorney."

This was indeed a singular case and Griffith does not hesitate to pronounce the suing of the Pope ludicrous; and so it must naturally strike one at first sight. But may it not be that at that particular juncture there was apparently none else to proceed against in due form with any show of caution? The Catholic congregation was not a body recognized by law; the attendant priest, being a Religious, was only the agent of his order or society; and that society was itself just then on the very eve of its dissolution. As an expediency, then, and a last resort the suit of "McNabb versus Ganganelli" is not so ludicrous as impious.

Even in its unfinished state, we are told, divine services

had been already held in the new edifice, but during the progress of the suit, and probably for some time thereafter, the church remained closed and the congregation, so Griffith tells us, assembled in a private house on South Charles Street. It is to be regretted that we possess nothing more definite upon this point; but as the French were settled mostly in that quarter of the town, we may suppose that some good family like the Golds or the Guttersaus offered the use of their house for the accommodation of the little flock.

Who was the priest in charge is not known for certain, as we have already seen. Possibly, or even probably, it was Father John Ashton; for if he ever ministered in Baltimore, it must have been about this period. In November 1767, he is believed to have arrived from Europe, having been shortly before ordained a priest of the Society of Jesus. He had been a fellow student with John Carroll, the future bishop, and if there was actually no relationship between them, there was at least a genuine friendship, though Ashton was considerably younger. Born in Ireland in 1742, he was but twenty-five years of age when he began his missionary labors in Maryland. His first appointment on the missions is not known, but in 1772 he is reported as being a resident of Anne Arundel County, which would seem to indicate that he lived with the Carrolls, either at Annapolis or at Doughoregan Manor, this latter place being then, prior to the formation of Howard County, also in Anne Arundel. From either home he could easily reach Baltimore Town, carrying with him, according to the reports, the sacred vestments and other requisites for the Holy Sacrifice. In 1773, he was appointed to White Marsh in Prince George's County, there to begin his long pastorate of twenty-nine years.

Father Ashton was in many ways a remarkable man, but he was noted especially for his administrative ability. When the Catholic missionaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania undertook, in 1784, to form a corporate body—"Ye Body of ye Clergy"—he was elected procurator-general, which office he held for eighteen years. He was also one of the first directors

of Georgetown College. With Very Rev. John Carroll and Rev. Robert Molyneux, he formed a committee to draft the petition for a bishop, which was sent to Rome, and with them he signed the document. The sermon at the close of the first synod of Baltimore, Nov. 7, 1791, was delivered by him. Everywhere, indeed, he seems to have taken a prominent part.

In such of his letters as the writer had an opportunity of perusing, only one slight allusion is to be found connecting Father Ashton with Baltimore. Writing in 1801, to Bishop Carroll, he says: "I built the house in which you sleep." But, inasmuch as this part of the presbytery may have been erected after he had become procurator-general, his words may mean simply that he furnished the means for building.

Though the suit against the Pope had been withdrawn, it appears the chapel remained closed for some length of time. According to Campbell, a Mr. P——, who was the principal creditor, had locked up the church and retained the key. It is difficult to say who it was that is *so mysteriously* designated by the author of "Desultory Sketches"; but if the writer may venture a guess, he would suggest the name of Mr. Brian Philpot, Jr., who was a noted broker at that day, and a gentleman who had considerable business of a financial nature with the church authorities for years after.

Campbell also states, that through the address of Captain Galbraith and his company of volunteer militia, then stationed in Baltimore Town, the key was gotten possession of one Sunday morning, and the church reopened permanently.

No report, as far as known, has come down to us of the dedicatory celebration; nor can we divine why precisely the chapel was put under the invocation of the Prince of the Apostles. Perhaps the close proximity of St. Paul's Episcopal Church may have in some way suggested the propriety of naming the first Catholic temple St. Peter's. Apropos of this title, it may be of interest to quote an extract from Father Ashton's correspondence with Bishop Carroll. Speaking in reproof of the policy of Napoleon Bonaparte, he exclaims: "Who knows but ye Chair of Peter may yet be translated to

America, and that St. Peter's Church of Baltimore may be substituted for St. Peter's of Rome, and that ye Bishop of Baltimore may be identified with ye head of Christ's Church on earth!" And who knows but this early surmise may yet one day in some manner prove true!

Treacy ("Old Catholic Maryland") is authority for saying that Father Bernard Diderick attended Baltimore and Elk Ridge from 1775 to 1784. That this missionary had charge of the congregation in Baltimore has never, it seems, been questioned. He left the Deer Creek mission late in the year 1774, and probably took up his residence with Father Ashton at White Marsh.

Father Diderick (Diedrich), called at times also Father Rich, was a Walloon, that is a native of southeastern Belgium; and he was probably selected for the post in Baltimore because of his familiarity with the use of French, the language of the great body of Acadians. It would seem, however, that in spite of such qualification, he was not altogether acceptable to them; for they lodged complaints against him with the Abbé Robin (a chaplain in Rochambeau's division of the army) as the Abbé himself tells us in his narrative; but the subjects of the complaint were of a trivial nature.

It is to be remarked that the Maryland missionaries were, as a rule, either Englishmen or natives, many, indeed, the noblest sons of Maryland and "to the manor born." The instance, therefore, of the Belgian was rather an exception, and it would seem that the Rev. Father was likewise an exception in other respects. A man of fine parts, good and zealous, no doubt, he was also choleric and contentious. He opposed the erection of a school at Georgetown, and in his opposition to the establishment of the sacred episcopacy in this country he was yet more pronounced. He even went so far as to draw up a memorial and to send it to Rome, protesting against the appointment of a bishop. No doubt, he was true to his convictions and honest in his opposition; but, as results have clearly shown, he was utterly mistaken. About Christmas, 1782, he seems to have relinquished his care of the Baltimore mission. He died

in September 1793, at Notley Hall, Md., opposite Alexandria, Va.

Toward the close of the Revolutionary War some French troops encamped in "the Forest" north of St. Peter's Church, that is, on the very grounds where the Cathedral now stands; and Campbell tells us that "on one occasion a grand Mass was celebrated with great military pomp. The celebrant was an Irish priest, chaplain to General Count de Rochambeau. The bands of the French regiments accompanied the sacred service with solemn music, the officers and soldiers attended in full uniform, and a large concourse of the people of the town was present." Such display was doubtless very attractive, and may have in some degree familiarized the general public with the ceremonies of the Church, but the presence of the French troops was not in every way beneficial to our holy religion. The little colony of Acadians, so zealous heretofore, suffered perceptibly from the baneful influence exercised upon its members through intercourse with bad, irreligious adventurers who were among the military, as Rev. Doctor Carroll has left it on record in his writings.

FIRST RESIDENT PASTOR.

Father Diderick had for successor Rev. Charles Sewall, who enjoys the unique distinction of being Baltimore's first resident priest. The year 1784 is commonly given as the period of his arrival, but according to the evidence furnished by the old baptismal register, still preserved at the Cathedral, it would appear that his pastoral administration began as early as December 25, 1782. In that register, on page 66, Father Beeston, who was rector next after Sewall, has recorded and officially signed the following note: "The preceding 65 pages were transcribed from the original Register of Baptisms kept by my Predecessor, the Rev. Charles Sewall. No regular Register of Baptisms was kept at this place before the said Rev. Charles Sewall resided here." Inasmuch as the first entry is made on Christmas day, 1782, and others follow closely in regular succession, we have reason to conclude that the date 1784, heretofore held as the

beginning of Father Sewall's term, is erroneous. The latter date was probably the year when the church, after extensive improvements, was reopened and the priest's dwelling newly built was now first occupied.

CHURCH AND PRO-CATHEDRAL.

The new incumbent, as is evident, set to work without delay upon remodeling the old chapel, which could now, thanks to our political severance from England and the incidental religious freedom accruing to us, be converted into a public house of worship — a church,

The improvements made were considerable. They consisted apparently in the extension of the chapel to more than twice its former length, and the addition of a presbytery or priest's house. Fortunately we are not left wholly in ignorance regarding the appearance of the little group of buildings then provided. A painting executed by Thomas Ruckles in 1801, and preserved for a great number of years in the Elder family of Baltimore, gives us a fair representation of this portion of Saratoga Street at that early period. Owing to its age, however, and an injudicious coat of varnish superadded, the picture has become very obscure, some of the details being effaced or barely discernible. Still upon close scrutiny enough is distinguished whereby to form our judgment.

And first we observe that the bed of the street is at a higher level than now. It was in fact as high as and probably even higher than the walled-in plots of ground which are still to be seen opposite Hotel Rennert. We next perceive that the church is a brick structure in two obvious sections, the want of uniformity of line between the old and the more recent, rendering each portion quite distinct externally.

The writer has already stated it as his opinion that the original building or chapel fronted on Forest (now Little Sharp) Street. When the improvements were now to be undertaken it was found advisable to select Saratoga Street for the new frontage of the church, for the reason that Forest Street

was about to be sacrificed to the interest of Liberty Street, and from a grand thoroughfare sixty-six feet wide, it was to be contracted to the present narrow lane known as Little Sharp Street.

There was, besides, another advantage in the change of orientation; it would not only facilitate the use of the wider end of the lot, but would also and above all permit the addition to be joined to the southern gable end, which being prolonged, both sections, old as well as new, would assume more the style of a church edifice.

By reason, probably, of the grade on Little Sharp Street, a lower base line, it seems, was adopted for the addition to St. Peter's Chapel. This part being planned neither so high nor so wide as the original portion, left a conspicuous offset in roof and wall. The side elevation shows two rows of windows, the upper ones being nearly square, but the lower ones about twice the height of the former. Two of the small square windows show also in front, and must have afforded light and ventilation to the choir gallery; and above these, at but a short distance, runs a heavy horizontal molding, which, after having reached the eaves, thence ascends to the gable point, forming thus a plain triangular cornice. The doorway is pointed and probably possessed some slight adornment which is, however, not perceptible in the picture.

As for the dimensions of the building, these can be given only approximately. The original chapel is said to have measured twenty-five by thirty feet, and assuming this estimate to be correct, it looks, judging by the painting, as if the addition had retained the original width of twenty-five, but had increased the length, perhaps some forty feet. Now bearing in mind that the new part was joined to the side of the old part, by which fact only twenty-five feet of the original space was available, we find the total length after the improvement to have been sixty, or at most sixty-five feet. Such the dimensions of the lowly structure which for a quarter of a century served the illustrious Carroll for a Cathedral! Little wonder that he should have called it "a paltry one."

You search the picture in vain for cross, or bell, or even

chimney; there is not the slightest indication of these on the church, and they were evidently not to be seen thereon in the year of grace 1801. In aftertimes, however, a small cupola with bell was added, and we can not doubt that a cross also surmounted this; but we may rest assured that no chimney ever loomed over old St. Peter's; for the heating of churches is, as it were, only of yesterday — a comfort of which our godly and not very remote ancestors were wholly ignorant, or seem not to have stood in need.

As regards the arrangement and appearance of the interior, a few words must needs be added. The body of the church was exceedingly plain and unattractive, according to common report. The choir gallery was situated over the entrance, and there were also side galleries. These, in an edifice only about twenty-five feet wide, must have looked clumsy indeed.

There is still extant in miniature what is believed to be a facsimile of the sanctuary. The little copy appears to be modeled on a scale of one inch to the foot, and is probably reliable in its main features. Taking it for a guide, we find that the sanctuary is neither square nor semicircular in outline, but rhomboid, that is, in shape very similar to the outline of the upper half of a boy's common kite. Two columns, attached to the side walls and supporting some light tracery running across the ceiling, seem to separate the sacred precincts from the main body of the church, and between them is fixed the balustrade or altar railing, in length measuring about twenty-one feet. At these columns the side walls — probably only inside partitions — begin to converge toward the rear wall till the space between them is contracted to but fourteen feet. Here stands the one, plain, wooden altar; the wings of it extending to the side walls, the table about seven feet in length, and the tabernacle uncommonly high. Above the altar hangs a picture of the patron, St. Peter the apostle, and surrounding this there is a somewhat elaborate baldachin. There are but two steps of ascent, though a bishop's altar has usually four, and the lower one, at the gospel side, is extended in such a manner as to serve for a platform to the bishop's throne.

Such apparently was St. Peter's pro-Cathedral in 1801. All evidence of beauty and splendor is lacking, and everywhere plainness and simplicity reign supreme.

The brick presbytery serving also later for the archiepiscopal residence, was a modest two-story-and-attic building, which stood adjacent to the church on the east side, and had between fifty and sixty feet frontage on Saratoga Street. In Ruckle's picture it has the appearance of having been enlarged, and probably it measured but half this length originally. Perhaps an addition was built in 1790, when Very Rev. Dr. John Carroll was in England for consecration.

There was also a God's acre or cemetery about the church, which, however, does not appear in the picture. It was located mostly on the eastern side, that is, toward Charles Street, but some graves were also in front on Saratoga Street, according to reliable witnesses. Few people to-day would suspect that graves and tombs were once a familiar sight in this fashionable quarter; but, in truth, the southwest corner of Charles and Saratoga streets was in olden times the only spot at that point not occupied by a graveyard. Northwest was St. Peter's, up to two generations past; northeast, the German Calvinists'; and southeast, St. Paul's. No wonder that, when in 1800 Dr. Davidge erected an anatomical hall on the site now occupied by the Hotel Rennert, an outcry should be raised by the neighbors, and the populace should demolish the structure. The fear of ghouls was too pertinent under such circumstances. The church grounds were enclosed by a picket fence on Saratoga Street and probably also on Charles Street, but there appears to have been a wall of brick or stone on Little Sharp Street.

Whilst the improvements were in progress the original chapel could still be used for services, and the intervening wall needed not to be disturbed until the addition was completed. When the wall in part was finally removed, it was only necessary to turn the altar so as to face the worshipers now assembled in the new building, and to erect the partitions mentioned before.

Father Sewall, as observed already, entered upon his pastorate in Baltimore about Christmas 1782, he being then in the

fortieth year of his age. He was a native of Maryland and connected with the best families of the land, tracing his descent back to the Hon. Henry Sewall of Mattapan-Sewall. He had a brother also a priest — Rev. Nicholas Sewall — who was quite noted in his time and who, having gone abroad for his studies, never returned to this country, but labored all his priestly life on the English missions. Charles likewise made his studies in Europe, as in fact all the Maryland missionaries did in those days, but he returned to his native province in 1774.

Before coming to Baltimore Town he had exercised the holy ministry for nearly ten years on the missions in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and was therefore well qualified for his new charge. Baltimore at that period counted about eight thousand inhabitants, and possessed besides St. Peter's, seven other churches, representing Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Quakers, German Calvinists, Baptists, Lutherans, and Methodists. The number of Catholics living within the limits of the town and in the environs must have been somewhat near six hundred, for the register kept at St. Peter's shows seventy-four baptisms had been administered in the course of the year 1784.

Father Sewall appears to have been of a sweet and placid disposition, and known to every one as a good and holy soul; he was also a zealous priest, a true and tender friend and a polished gentleman. Noted especially for his administrative qualities, his abilities as an orator are said by Campbell to have been "very moderate." He was, nevertheless, a good English scholar, as his many letters still extant amply testify. Campbell's criticism, too, must not be taken very seriously; he probably means only to convey the idea that Father Sewall was no orator in comparison with Rev. Dr. John Carroll. That ornament and glory of the American Church was indeed head and shoulders above his confrères in this and other respects.

Father Sewall's pastorate was not without its apportionment of trials; indeed, he experienced so much difficulty with the work in hand that he lost heart for a while, and seriously entertained the thought of returning to Conewago, Pa., where he had labored for a short period some years before. In this

connection it may be interesting to quote the words of the saintly Father Pellentz, the pastor then in charge of the Conewago mission. "I always thought that he (Father Sewall) could do more for God's greater glory and the salvation of souls in Baltimore than here. For that reason I advised him in his troubles to have patience and courage. To the same intent I called to his remembrance that Saints Ignatius and Theresa always expected great success when they met with serious obstacles at the beginning of a new college or monastery. The hardships Mr. Sewall suffered made one think that Baltimore in time will be a very flourishing mission."

Think of it, this was written only a little more than a century ago, and it seemed still questionable then if the Baltimore mission would eventually be prosperous!

But success was being even then assured by the appointment at Rome of Father John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic, and by his coming to Baltimore to make his residence with Father Sewall. The latter was also now contented to retain his post, and did not resign his charge till the year 1793, when he was succeeded by Rev. Francis Beeston. Leaving Baltimore then he retired to Bohemia, in Cecil County, and thence, after some years, withdrew to St. Thomas' Manor, in Charles County, where he continued his labors in spite of increasing bodily infirmities. In a letter to Bishop Carroll he mentions the long and fatiguing rides which his reverend assistant was obliged to make, and then adds concerning himself: "As for myself, I may sing the negro's song, 'Ho, boys, 'most done.'" And in another of a later date, after speaking of his sufferings and the hardships of long sick-calls, he writes: "Though I am broken down with former missionary rides and labors, I will go as long as I can, *Si adhuc sum necessarius non recuso laborem*." He died November 10, 1806, and lies buried at St. Thomas' Manor, in Charles County, within view of the beautiful Potomac and amidst the hallowed remains of many other early missionaries of Maryland.

BY-EVENTS.

Some events of special interest to the Catholics of Baltimore may be briefly noted here, as they transpired just prior to, or near the time of, Father Sewall's departure. The Sulpicians, or French Fathers, as they were then more commonly called, arrived in Baltimore in the year 1791, and established themselves in a house designated then "The One Mile Tavern," which they converted into home, seminary, and chapel. The house stood on Digges' Wagon Road, later known as Hookstown Road, but now called Pennsylvania Avenue. The present St. Mary's Chapel, however, was not built till many years later.

In the year 1792, the first step was taken toward erecting a chapel in the southeastern part of the town, still known as "the Point," and this movement ultimately resulted in the building of St. Patrick's Church.

In the summer of 1793, about one thousand whites and five hundred blacks, all professing the Catholic religion and speaking the French language, landed in Baltimore. They were refugees from the island of San Domingo, and many of them took up their residence in town, and thus greatly augmented the number of the faithful. Some of the newcomers settled in the neighborhood of the seminary and formed a little French flock, who worshiped in the chapel for many years.

Some years later, at the close of the century, the German Catholics then resident in town united their efforts and built St. John the Evangelist's Church. It stood in close proximity to St. Peter's, namely at the corner of Saratoga Street and Park Avenue, and its site is now occupied by St. Alphonsus' Church. The writer's father was a trustee of the old church, and was instrumental in transferring the title of the property to the proper church authorities.

FIRST BISHOP.

Reverend Francis Beeston was the successor of Rev. Charles Sewall; but before giving some details of his life it may be

proper to insert at this point a few observations respecting the great and good Father John Carroll, who came to Baltimore to make his home with Father Sewall. It is not the writer's purpose to include in his narrative the distinguished prelates who presided over the see of Baltimore in those early days; abler pens than his have long since portrayed their lives, and their history is known to all. Yet it seems some exception should be made here, in favor of a particular mention of Doctor Carroll, inasmuch as he, more than the others, was so intimately connected with old St. Peter's.

It was in the humble presbytery adjoining the church that for more than a quarter century he abode, and finally expired. Here he received his visitors and guests, the great and the lowly. Here he gave advice and administered consolation; here he encouraged, warned, approved, rebuked, as the cases demanded. Here he carried on that large and admirable correspondence embracing not only this land but also foreign countries. Hence he set out by horse on his long journeys, so rough and fatiguing, and with prospects of coarse fare and uncomfortable lodgings. Here he labored, prayed, and suffered, and proved himself the good shepherd that gives his life for his sheep.

In that "paltry" pro-Cathedral — and never had he any other — he held the first synodal meeting of his clergy. Within its sacred precincts the first ordination of priests and consecration of bishop in this country and by him took place. Here, too, the first prelates met him and formulated their earliest pastoral letter to the faithful of this country. In this simple, yet privileged temple he preached those sermons and delivered those discourses which attracted large and distinguished audiences and which were admired by men of every creed and by the freethinker as well. In it, finally, his own solemn obsequies took place.

It was in the winter of 1786-87, that Father Carroll, appointed Prefect-Apostolic two years previously, arrived in Baltimore to make his future home at St. Peter's. Though, like another Paul, he had the care of all the churches resting on him, he did not disdain the humble routine work of the parish,

and in the intervals between his visitations through his very extensive charge, he gave his time freely to whatever ministry fell to his lot at home. It is noteworthy that, even when bishop and archbishop, his name appears repeatedly as minister of the sacrament on the baptismal register; nor is it only in connection with the children of the higher class that this is observed; not infrequently the favored subject was the offspring of some plain laborer or poor foreigner. His pious and fatherly visits to the sick and needy, it is true, are not found recorded here below, but they were, no doubt, numerous, and may have often, too, partaken of the nature of those made occasionally by the saintly Kenrick, one of his illustrious successors, who more than once was discovered hurrying in the earliest dawn to some humble home in an alley or courtyard. As citizen, he was known as a lover and admirer of his country, and he was ever foremost in all literary, educational, and philanthropic projects of his day. As bishop, he was a father and a model to his clergy, and a true shepherd to his flock. He was a sincere friend to all without distinction.

On Sunday, December 3, 1815, this faithful steward of the Master surrendered his noble soul to God, in the eightieth year of his age, having been priest since 1769, bishop since 1789, and archbishop since 1808.

The second resident rector of St. Peter's, Rev. Francis Beeston, arrived in Baltimore early in the spring of 1793, coming directly from Bohemia, the old mission in Cecil County, to exchange places with Father Sewall. He was an Englishman, having been born of Catholic parents in Lincolnshire, in the year 1751, and was consequently in the forty-second year of his age. Previous to his charge of Bohemia, he had exercised his holy ministry for four years in Philadelphia.

Of a cheerful disposition, open and frank, he was esteemed excellent company and was himself very fond of good companionship. But he was noted especially for his assiduity in the performance of his priestly duties, and this with his other virtuous traits won for him the confidence of his bishop and the attachment and love of his people. Particularly devoted to the

sick, when pestilence was stalking through the town he was seen night and day at the bedside of the stricken, comforting them and preparing them to meet their Judge. He twice contracted that terrible scourge of earlier days, yellow fever, and was brought to death's door, but no sooner had he recovered, when he hastened to offer anew the consolations of religion to those still suffering.

After sixteen years of strenuous labor at St. Peter's, he died suddenly, toward the close of December, 1809, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, greatly lamented by the venerable archbishop and by all the people.

Archbishop Carroll had asked for Rev. Enoch Fenwick, a member of the Society of Jesus, then recently revived, and upon the death of Father Beeston, appointed him rector of St. Peter's. Father Fenwick continued in office for ten years, when he was recalled by the Superior of his order and made president of Georgetown College.

Descended from Cuthbert Fenwick, one of the illustrious pilgrims of Maryland, Rev. Enoch Fenwick was born in lower Maryland, St. Mary's County, in 1780. He was ordained priest by Bishop Leonard Neale at Georgetown in 1808. His brother Benedict, who was ordained at the same time, afterward became Bishop of Boston, while still another brother, called George, also embraced the clerical life.

Father Enoch Fenwick, says one of his biographers, "in person was tall and straight, a finished gentleman of elegant manners." He was the friend and companion of the venerable Archbishop in his declining years, and was with him to comfort and console him in his dying hour. He continued in charge of St. Peter's during the short term of Archbishop Neale's administration, and the first years of Archbishop Marechal's tenure of office. He took a special interest in the building of the new Cathedral, and for many years was very active in collecting funds for its completion. He died at Georgetown on November 25, 1827, and his remains repose there in the college cemetery.

THE NEW CATHEDRAL.

The site of the new Cathedral, of which mention was just made, was after much discussion selected by Archbishop Carroll and purchased from Colonel John Eagar Howard. It was almost within a stone's throw of old St. Peter's, directly north of it, and just on the summit of the hill. The corner-stone of the basilica was laid on the 7th of July, 1806. The work of construction progressed slowly till 1812, when it was entirely suspended, to be resumed, however, three years later. The dedication took place in 1821, on the 31st day of May. A full history of the Cathedral was published in 1906, in connection with the centennial celebration that year.

Upon the elevation of Doctor Whitfield to the archiepiscopal chair, his faithful assistant at St. Peter's, Rev. Roger Smith, was promoted to the rectorship, being the fifth in succession after Father Sewall. He was a native of Maryland, born in Frederick County in 1790, and was of distinguished lineage. His father was Henry Smith, a cousin of Capt. John Smith of the American Revolution, and his mother, before marriage, was Catherine Queen, a granddaughter of Colonel Edward Pye. He was closely connected with such noted old Maryland families as the Brookes, Whartons, Doynes, Sewalls, Neales, Fenwicks, and Taney's. His preparatory studies for the priesthood were made in part at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmittsburg, but principally at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, where also he was ordained on October 2, 1815.

St. Ignatius' Church, now called "The Hickory," but in Father Smith's time, and for a quarter century after, better known under the name Bel Air, was his first appointment — an appointment still made by Archbishop Carroll. This charge was a specially arduous one at that period, because a number of outer missions or congregations, some of them widely sundered, were attached to the head church, and because for two years the reverend pastor was obliged to continue his residence in Baltimore at the seminary, for the reason that no home was

provided for him in his parish. Those outer missions included Carroll's or Doughoregan Manor; Williamson's Chapel, near Pikesville; Hunter's or Jenkins' Chapel, Long Green Valley; Captain Macatee's, or the Barrens, now Pylesville; Priestford, Deer Creek; Havre de Grace; and Conewingo, in Cecil County.

Late in the summer of 1820, he was transferred to St. Peter's, where, it appears, he continued his residence ever after. He died April 3, 1833, aged forty-three years.

Father Roger Smith was earnest, zealous, and straightforward in all his doings, and though of slight frame and delicate constitution was very successful in his ministry, being indefatigable in the work of his sacred calling. He was distinguished for his strong Christian faith, his simplicity of life and his all-embracing charity. He was the founder of a benevolent organization, "The Charitable Relief Society," established in 1827, which had for its object to befriend the poor and the afflicted, regardless of all distinctions as to denomination, age, sex, or color. "Equally dear to him, as in the sight of God, the salvation of the slave and his master, he was everywhere ready with his word of encouragement or reproof. The wealthy did homage to his virtue and the poor had the Gospel preached to them."

His remains rest in Bonnie Brae Cemetery, and on his tomb are engraven these appreciative words: "He died a Martyr of his Zeal and Charity."

Rev. Edward Damphoux, D.D., the archbishop's secretary, became rector next in turn, and, like his predecessor in that office, he is believed to have made his residence mostly at St. Peter's.

He was already in deacon's order when as a young man he left France in company with Rev. Ambrose Marechal, who was for a second time embarking for Maryland. Ordained priest two years later, that is, in 1814, and having joined the Sulpicians, he was professor, and also, for nine years, president of St. Mary's College, then attached to the Baltimore Seminary. He became assistant at the Cathedral in 1829, and upon the

death of Rev. Roger Smith, he was promoted to the rectorship, which office he held till 1839.

Doctor Damphoux interested himself greatly in the welfare of old St. Peter's, which was, so to speak, rejuvenated under his fostering care, and whose old parishioners were devotedly attached to the Rev. Father in spite of his French accent and some eccentricity of manner, for which he was noted.

After leaving St. Peter's he lived in South Baltimore, where he built old St. Joseph's Church in 1839. Ten years after, when very much broken in health, he resigned this charge and for a while said Mass in a little oratory built in Mr. Frederick Crey's yard on Madison Street, near Jones Falls, and is said to have also attended the chapel of the Carmelite Nuns on Aisquith Street. He died in the seventieth year of his age, August 7, 1860.

Rev. Dr. Damphoux is believed to have been the last of the rectors who made their residence at St. Peter's; his immediate successors, Rev. Thomas Butler and Rev. Charles I. White, lived in the archbishop's house, and their ministry appears to have been confined to the Cathedral. The venerable old church and the faithful still worshipping there were at that time, however, in good and zealous hands, the care of them being assigned to the assistant rector, Rev. Peter Stanislaus Schreiber.

This estimable priest was a native of Baltimore, born in 1803, and of German extraction, though, it is said, he spoke German quite indifferently. Having completed his clerical studies at St. Mary's Seminary, he was ordained priest in 1827, and assigned as help to St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D.C. He next became pastor of St. Peter's Church, Richmond, Va., then under the administration of the Archbishop of Baltimore. Sent again to Washington, he was made pastor of St. Peter's Church in that city, whence he was called back to Baltimore in 1833, and appointed to assist Rev. Dr. Damphoux in the increasing work at old St. Peter's.

Here he set to work with unabated ardor, laboring with scrupulous fidelity till the final closing of the church in 1841. Now transferred to St. Vincent's, Baltimore, first in the capacity

of assistant, but afterward advanced to the position of pastor, he was overtaken by a fatal illness six months after his late promotion, and expired September 8, 1845.

Father Schreiber was greatly admired for his simplicity of life and the conscientious discharge of the duties of his sacred calling. He was much beloved and held in high esteem by the people. The writer remembers, when a child, frequently hearing appreciative and affectionate mention made of this venerable priest by his parents, who in years before had often been devout worshippers in old St. Peter's.

This holy man of God was of a rather timid and retiring nature. In one of his letters to the archbishop he mentions his great aversion to the soliciting of contributions for the Church, saying he would much rather himself give than ask of others. He was buried at the seminary, though not a Sulpician, and his ashes are mingled with those of his pious instructors — the godly sons of Father Olier.

A brief mention may here be made of the other reverend assistants; some, who afterward became rectors, have already been noticed. One, who at first was assistant, became later not only rector, but even the head of the diocese; this was Most Rev. James Whitfield, the fourth incumbent in the See of Baltimore. He was assistant from 1818 to 1820, rector till 1828, and archbishop till 1834.

Rev. Dr. Matthew O'Brien, a Dominican, was stationed at St. Peter's from 1809 till 1811, when he was transferred to Philadelphia. He returned to Baltimore where he died in 1815, aged 65 years.

Reverend Fr. Ryan succeeded to Father O'Brien, but held the appointment only for some months in 1812.

Rev. Samuel S. Burgess came in 1819, and stayed till 1821. He was an English Franciscan.

In 1831, Rev. Arthur Wainright, also an Englishman, was appointed to aid Rev. Roger Smith, after whose decease he left Baltimore and went to Pottsville, Pa., where he was pastor of St. Patrick's Church. He died about 1839.

Rev. Dr. Charles C. Pise, assistant at St. Peter's from 1827

to 1832, was one of the most noted priests in this country in his day. Born at Annapolis, Md., in 1801, he, while a student at Georgetown College, became a member of the Society of Jesus. Sent to Rome to prosecute his studies, he severed his connection with the Society before receiving priesthood. He was ordained in 1825, at Baltimore, and sent to Washington. It was whilst stationed at St. Matthew's Church that he acted as chaplain to the United States Senate. After five years spent at St. Peter's in Baltimore, he visited Rome a second time and there won, amid great applause, the degree of Doctor of Divinity and other high honors. He now affiliated himself with the diocese of New York and after filling several appointments died in 1858, as pastor of the Church of St. Charles Borromeo, Brooklyn.

Dr. Pise was a man highly gifted, a brilliant orator, an able and refined controversialist, and an elegant writer whose books were widely read and admired.

It was but natural that St. Peter's — the "paltry" pro-Cathedral — should be mightily overshadowed by the grand basilica erected on the crown of the hill. Upon the dedication and opening of the latter the venerable old shrine was for some years mostly used as a chapel, where indeed the sacraments were still administered and also the daily Mass was continued, but where the more solemn offices of the Church ceased to be performed. Some of the clergy continued to reside in the old presbytery, but Archbishop Marechal, finding it more convenient to live closer to the new temple, occupied a house standing on the eastern limits of the old grounds and fronting on Charles Street, and situated about midway between Saratoga Street and Little Pleasant Street. The archiepiscopal residence, now the cardinal's, was not built till 1829.

The eclipse suffered by old St. Peter's was only partial. About the year 1829 the regular Sunday services were resumed, and although the chapel was but an adjunct to the Cathedral, which, spacious as it was, could not accommodate the increasing number of worshipers, it served to all purpose and intent as a parochial church up to the day of its final demolition.

In 1839 the church was renovated and a new organ purchased for the choir; but this was only like the vanishing glory of the sunset. Only two years later, in 1841, Father Schreiber, the faithful attendant, was withdrawn, the sacred edifice closed, and an order issued that the site be at once cleared and gotten in readiness for a new structure — a Catholic school and place of assembly — Calvert Hall.

Thus passed away from our eyes, speedily and for ever, this primitive shrine — the lowly cradle of Catholicity in Baltimore — but the memory thereof should live, and the story thereof be told as long as Catholics abide in the land.

REGISTER OF THE CLERGY LABORING IN THE
ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK FROM EARLY
MISSIONARY TIMES TO 1885

BY THE MOST REV. MICHAEL AUGUSTINE CORRIGAN, D.D.

VII.

STIESSBERGER, REV. CHARLES, C.S.S.R.

Father Stiessberger, born September 26, 1821, in Munich, made his classical and part of his academic studies in that city, until he entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer in the fall of 1848. On Christmas Day of the following year he pronounced his religious vows, then completed his theological studies at Altoetting, where he was ordained priest, August 12, 1850. When Father Hafkenschaid, the first Provincial of the Redemptorists in America, visited Europe that year, he endeavored to obtain additional evangelical laborers for his vast vineyard. Father Stiessberger was among those who offered their services and he was accepted.

He arrived with the Provincial at New York, March 19, 1851. His first station in the United States was St. Alphonsus' Church, Baltimore. During his sixteen years in this country, he was successively attached to a number of houses, Cumberland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Rochester, and Chicago; and for six years, at two different periods, from 1853 to 1856, and from 1860 to 1863, he labored in New York. His last station was New Orleans, where he arrived in the middle of October 1866.

In the fall of 1867 the yellow fever raged fiercely in that city and the Fathers labored day and night attending the sick and dying. Their own community was not spared by the epidemic; seven Fathers and five Brothers were attacked, four with fatal results. Among these was Father Stiessberger. Full of zeal for the salvation of souls as he was, he would say that he

was a cosmopolitan, making himself all things to all men. On October 1 he attended a sick-call, three miles away from home. On returning, he felt sick and took to his bed. On October 6, the feast of the Rosary, he rendered his soul to his Creator.

Father Stiessberger's characteristic trait was unbounded charity, and for this reason he was well beloved among his brethren and highly esteemed by the people.

BAXTER, REV. RICHARD, S.J.

Father Baxter was born at Carlisle, England, March 28, 1821, of Irish parentage. His early training was received in Tyrone, where his father, afterward a convert, had enlisted in the Fifteenth Infantry, "Cromwell's Own." Young Baxter at an early age came to Canada with his father and settled near Barrie, Ont. He studied for a while in Toronto and completed his classical course in Montreal College in 1845. In September of that year he entered the Jesuit novitiate, then recently established in Montreal.

In 1847 the young Religious took his vows at Fordham, N. Y. His first assignment was as a teacher in the grammar class of the college opened that year in Elizabeth St., New York. When that institution was destroyed by fire he was transferred to the temporary abode in Third Ave., and in November 1850 to the new college of St. Francis Xavier.

He completed his theological studies at Fordham in 1854 and on the feast of the Assumption in the same year was raised to the priesthood by Bishop Loughlin of Brooklyn. During the two following years he fulfilled at Fordham the duties of teacher and prefect.

Father Baxter then started out on an apostolic career of fifty years, forty of which were spent along the Great Lakes in the region now known as New Ontario. After six years at St. Joseph's Church, Troy, he was sent in August 1863 to Sault Ste. Marie.

He traveled along the shores of Georgian Bay and in the present diocese of Marquette, saying Mass in the houses of the

settlers, and giving missions in the more thickly populated districts. In these apostolic works he spent five or six years in the neighborhood of Garden River and the Sault. At the latter place he, with Brother Reardon, dug the foundations of the present Church of the Sacred Heart.

In 1871 he was in the ministry at Guelph and a few months later again in Troy. In the summer of 1872 he was sent to Prince Arthur's Landing at the head of Lake Superior, where he built St. Andrew's Church. The first contribution of one hundred dollars came from some Glengarry laborers, and their generosity secured the Scotch titular for the church.

Father Baxter was the miners' missionary. At the same time he was the missionary of the workmen on the Dawson route, the highway that was to link the prairies to Lake Superior. When that enterprise was discontinued and the Canadian Government undertook the building of the railway between Fort William and Winnipeg in 1875, Father Baxter became a railway missionary. He traveled from camp to camp with his chapel on his back, and said Mass for the natives on Sundays and holidays. Many instances of his charity are still fresh in the memory of the people of Fort William. When the grading of the new railway had extended fifty or sixty miles west of Thunder Bay, scurvy, familiarly known as "black leg," spread among the workmen. It was not a rare sight to see the old missionary trudging long distances over the swampy country with a bag of potatoes on his back, to provide vegetable food for the stricken men.

Several times he had to swim across streams to carry the consolations of religion to the injured and dying during those strenuous years. He built the church at West Fort William and called it the Church of the Nativity, because, as he tells us, the first Mass was celebrated in it on Christmas night. He made his headquarters in the little house in the rear, and there he retired after his long journeys for a few days of well-earned rest. But the holy missionary found his rest in prayer. A light burning in the church one morning at two o'clock betrayed his presence at the foot of the altar.

It is not surprising to learn that God was pleased to attach great efficacy to his prayers. Some instances of this are given in an interesting sketch written by Father Edward Devine, S.J., for the Canadian "Messenger."

In 1881 the last stage of his remarkable career began. The newly formed Canadian Pacific Railway Company undertook the construction of the road along the north shore of Lake Superior. Thousands of men were sent to tunnel out mountains of granite and to bridge the rivers and streams that rush into the lake. Father Baxter was the missionary sent to live with the workmen. He shared their food and their hardships during the years of construction. He followed their camps from point to point, and in his journeys twice narrowly escaped drowning. While crossing a stream near Nepigon, the ice gave way, precipitating the old missionary into the water. His strong lungs did him good service on this occasion; he was in the water nearly a couple of hours before he was rescued. When asked how he got out of the water, he simply replied: "Head first." He was chilled through on that occasion, but apparently none the worse for his wintry bath.

Father Baxter stayed in the construction camps until the road was completed. When the workmen employed in the building of the road disappeared, a fresh element came in. Regular trains were now in operation across the continent, and his ministry began among the employees of the railway from Chapleau to Bonheur, the western limit of the diocese of Peterboro. He built churches for their use at the divisional points of Schreiber and White River, and later, a third one at East Fort William.

The completion of the railway did not lighten the burdens of his ministry. He traveled continually up and down the lake shore, living more than half his time on the trains. It mattered little what kind of conveyance led to his destination. Freight cars, locomotives, hand-cars, as well as colonist and first-class coaches, were patronized by him. He had a particular distaste for Pullmans, giving as his reason that he liked fresh air too well to be cooped up in pillows and cushions. During the last

five years of his stay on the Canadian Pacific his mileage record ran into the hundreds of thousands. Those were the years of the development of the road, when slow trains, wearying delays, and hardships innumerable were the lot of travelers. He went from station to station and said Mass for the Catholics, rarely spending more than two days at one place. The hardships of this kind of life were many and bitter. "When there is a family at a siding," he wrote to Father Devine, "there is generally a means of having a bed." Not always, however; for he wrote again, recalling his own experiences: "If your Reverence uses more judgment than I did, the want of sleep and cold waiting-rooms will not give you as much annoyance as they gave me."

Father Baxter's affability and his readiness to render a service, no matter how painful, made him beloved by the railway employees and their families. The old man, laden with chapel and sacks which, as we learned from one of his flock, would prevent him from entering anything smaller than a flat car, was always a welcome figure, in his threadbare cassock and well-worn hat. The little children looked for him, for they knew his pockets were filled with candies and toys.

Three times he narrowly escaped being killed in accidents on the railway. One of these episodes he kept vividly ever after in his mind. He was on the baggage-car when the train left the track at Mackenzie station. The missionary was found under a pile of trunks, and escaped with a few bruises. Later, when he was asked how he succeeded in getting out of the wreck so easily, he promptly replied, "Through the door." A consoling fact in connection with this holy man's career is that, notwithstanding the distances he had to cover, and the difficulties he had to overcome, it is believed that no one in his immense district ever died without the sacraments.

The weight of years and the fatigues of his nomadic life began at last to tell on the vigorous frame of the old priest, and it was felt that the time had come to relieve him of some of his burdens. In 1893, his Superiors sent him to Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., where he remained three years, and then back to Port

Arthur, both scenes of his former activity. He was now eighty-two years of age, and the state of his health was becoming precarious. He returned to Montreal, where his religious life was begun, to prepare himself in retirement for the moment when he was to go to meet the Master he had served so well. That moment came three years later, May 8, 1904, and the old man carrying with him the merits of fifty-nine years in the Society of Jesus, and fifty years of priesthood, entered into his reward.

BARRY, REV. JOHN.

Ordained December 23, 1854, by Bishop Loughlin for Archbishop Hughes, Father Barry was stationed for some years at the Cathedral, as assistant. In August 1859 he was appointed to succeed Dr. Caro, as rector at Rossville, S. I. In May 1877 he became rector of St. Peter's, New Brighton, S. I., and in 1888 began a parochial school there. He departed this life August 14, 1890.

McEvoy, REV. JOHN.

Father McEvoy, ordained August 17, 1855, by Archbishop Hughes, was assistant at the Cathedral 1855-56. He was at the Church of the Transfiguration as rector from the latter part of 1860 to December 1861, at St. John the Evangelist's from 1863-4 to 1866-7, at St. Stephen's until 1868, at White Plains as pastor 1870-78, and chaplain at St. Vincent's Retreat, Harrison, 1879-82. He became paralyzed in March 1883, and died April 6, of the same year, at the age of fifty-nine. After funeral services in the Cathedral, he was buried April 9 in Calvary Cemetery.

BOYCE, REV. JAMES.

Father Boyce, born at Ardagh, Ireland, came to the United States in 1849, studied at Fordham, and was ordained August 17, 1855. He was stationed at St. Mary's, Grand St., and in 1863 bought a Presbyterian church in Rutgers St. and had it dedicated under the title of St. Teresa's. The blessing of this church, June 21, 1863, by Archbishop Hughes, was

the occasion not only of the last appearance of His Grace at a ceremony of that kind, but also of his last sermon, an exhortation to prayers for peace. Father Boyce established a large pariah school for boys, in the care of the Christian Brothers, and a large school for girls, in the care of the Ursuline nuns. He died July 9, 1876.

MORROGH, REV. WILLIAM PLOWDEN, D.D.

Dr. Morrogh, born in Cork, and educated at Stonyhurst, England, at Fordham, and at the Propaganda, where he excelled in moral theology, was ordained in 1856, by Cardinal Patrizi. In the same year he became president of St. Joseph's Seminary, Fordham. From the death of Rev. John Ryan in March 1861, to his own death in October 1875, he was pastor at the Immaculate Conception Church in Fourteenth St. In 1864 he erected the well-appointed schoolhouse adjoining the church, and in 1871 extended the church to Fifteenth St. and beautified it. He died at Albano, Italy, October 23, 1875.

DONAHOE, REV. PHILIP P.

Father Donahoe, ordained August 17, 1855, by Archbishop Hughes, was assistant to Dr. Forbes at St. Ann's, 1855, and assistant at Rondout, 1856.

TREANOR, REV. THOMAS.

Father Treanor, born at Fintona, Tyrone, Ireland, and trained in theology at Fordham, was ordained May 3, 1857, by Archbishop Hughes. From the time of his ordination until December 1861 he was assistant, and from that date until his death he was pastor at the Church of the Transfiguration. He erected a belfry, enlarged and renovated the church at an expense of \$50,000, made the schools entirely free, and held many missions. Archbishop McCloskey re-opened the church in February 1867, and solemnly blessed the high altar, May 10, 1868. Father Treanor died of pneumonia, November 28, 1870, See "Freeman's Journal," December 10, 1870.

McGEAN, REV. EDWARD.

Father McGean, an uncle of Right Rev. Mgr. James H. McGean, was ordained by Bishop Loughlin, for Archbishop Hughes, December 23, 1854. He was assistant at St. Ann's in 1855 and chaplain the same year at Mount St. Vincent's, which was on a site at 107th St., now within Central Park. He was at Sing Sing as pastor in 1856, and at Verplanck's Point, 1857-8. He died March 18, 1861, and was interred near the church at Sing Sing.

DOWLING, REV. MARTIN.

Father Dowling, born at Coolnaclawnish, Kilkenny, Ireland, November 11, 1825, and educated at Galmoy School, a hedge school, as he called it, and at St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, was ordained October 16, 1853. From 1854 to 1891 he was rector of the Church of Our Lady of Mercy, Port Chester, and from 1891 rector emeritus.

WALMSLEY, REV. JOSEPH, S.J.

Father Walmsley was born at Poulton, Lancaster, December 18, 1819, studied humanities at Stonyhurst College, and entered the Society of Jesus at Hodder, September 7, 1840, finishing his noviceship at St. Acheul. After his studies and a course of teaching at Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst Colleges, and after studying his theology at St. Beuno's College, he was ordained in September 1852. He served the Accrington Mission for a year, and from 1855 to 1857 was engaged in parish work at St. Francis Xavier's, New York. In 1857, returning to England, he served the missions of St. Walburge and St. Mary, Preston, and in 1863 was sent to assist Father George Harper at Prescot, where he died November 5, 1864, of typhus fever, contracted while attending the sick. His confrère, Father George Harper, being attacked by the fever in his assiduous attendance upon the sick Father, died December 29, following, and both were buried in the same grave at Windleshaw Cemetery, St. Helen's.

CLOWRY, REV. WILLIAM H.

Father Clowry, born in 1822, at Ballytrasna, Carlow, Ireland, and educated at Carlow College and at Maynooth, was ordained July 22, 1849, by Bishop Van de Velde in Chicago. For some years he was connected with the diocese of Chicago, as pastor at the Holy Name Church, and as vice-president of St. Mary's of the Lake. In 1854, on account of the difficulties then existing under Bishop O'Regan, he came with several others to New York and was appointed assistant at St. Lawrence's, Yorkville, with Father Quarter, who was also from Chicago. For a period of three years and nine months, 1856-9, he was assistant to Dr. Cummings at St. Stephen's. From August 1859, till his death, he was pastor at St. Gabriel's. From 1859 to 1865 he was building and completing the parish church, on a piece of ground valued then at \$25,000, the gift of Dr. Anderson. In 1868 he completed the pastoral residence. The schools he established were very popular and educated 1500 children at an annual cost of \$12,000. He was Superior of the Sisters of Mercy, and a member of the Archbishop's Council. He died June 12, 1884, universally regretted. At his Mass of requiem one hundred priests were present, Bishop McNierney pontificated, Father Donnelly preached, and Archbishop Corrigan gave the last absolution.

Father Clowry possessed, in a larger measure, perhaps, than any other priest in the diocese, the confidence of all the clergy. He was thoroughly loyal, unselfish, meek, a wise counselor and a trusty friend.

DUSAUSSOY, REV. L.

Father Dusaussouy was chaplain at the convent, Manhattanville, 1856, and was succeeded in the following year by Dr. Donovan.

O'REILLY, REV. MICHAEL, O.P.

Father O'Reilly was stationed at West Chester and Throgg's Neck, before Father Kinsella, from February 1854 to July 1857.

BRADY, REV. HUGH J.

Father Brady, born in 1827, in Ireland, was stationed at Blackwell's Island in 1856, assistant at St. Joseph's in 1858, and pastor at St. Ann's, after the secession of Dr. Forbes, 1859-61. He was transferred to the diocese of Hartford, and was rector of St. Mary's, Ansonia, 1878-84. He died in St. Vincent's Hospital, New York City, February 25, 1887.

SLEVIN, REV. CHAS. T.

Born at Fintona, Ireland, and educated at Mount St. Mary's and at Fordham, Father Slevin was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, May 3, 1857. He was stationed at St. Bridget's, as assistant 1857-9, at Dover Plains and Yonkers, as pastor, and at Croton Falls in 1859. His pastorate at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Yonkers, extended from 1864 to 1877, in which year, on account of failing health, he was relieved of active duty, and was succeeded by Rev. Charles M. Corley. He died at the residence of his sister at North Easton, Mass., July 18, 1878. After funeral services at the Church of the Transfiguration, he was interred in Calvary Cemetery.

ROESCH, REV. GEORGE, C.SS.R.

Father Roesch was born April 14, 1822, at Poertschah, Lower Carinthia, in the Austrian diocese of Lavant. He received an excellent education and was ordained priest July 30, 1847, by the saintly Bishop Slomcek. Seven years of his priestly life were spent in his native diocese. His zeal, however, and probably the example, perhaps the suggestion, of the saintly apostle of the Indians of Northern Michigan, Bishop Frederic Baraga, induced him and his brother Joseph, who was also a priest, to come to America. They left Europe in company with Bishop Baraga. On their arrival the brothers offered their services to the archbishop of New York. Father George was accepted and sent to Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where he labored about five years. Convinced that he could work more efficiently for the welfare of souls as a member of a religious community, he applied in 1859 to be received into the

Congregation of the Redemptorists. After making his novitiate, he took his vows June 21, 1860. In September Father Roesch was sent to Chicago, where seven months before Father Joseph Mueller, C.S.S.R., had taken charge of St. Michael's German parish. That parish had been in a sad condition for a number of years, and had been without a pastor for several months. It required an energetic and zealous priest, such as Father Mueller, to build it up. Father Roesch was selected to be his assistant. In 1862 Father Roesch became Superior of the community, which office he held for the regular term of three years.

From the middle of August 1865, he was at St. Michael's Church, Baltimore, and from November 10, 1868, at St. Joseph's Church, Rochester. Returning to Baltimore, he was stationed in 1872 at St. Michael's, and from 1873 at St. Alphonsus'. He worked in Baltimore nearly five years, and was universally esteemed on account of his great practical judgment. In 1875 he was appointed rector of St. Alphonsus' Church. At this time, however, his health began to decline. But his zeal was undiminished; he continued to discharge his duties as rector until he was unable to rise from his bed.

After a long sickness he died April 6, 1877.

McCROSSAN, REV. BERNARD.

Father McCrossan was assistant at Holy Cross Church from May 8 to November 10, 1855, and rector at Rossville, S. I., June 1858 to July 1859.

BREEN, REV. JOHN.

Born in 1823, and educated at Maynooth, Father Breen was stationed in Chicago as assistant to Father Clowry at the Church of the Holy Name and as a professor in the university. He was afterward attached to this diocese, first as chaplain to the Sisters of Charity at old Mount St. Vincent's in 107th St., 1857-8, and from 1860 to 1873 as pastor at the Church of the Annunciation. He taught philosophy at Manhattan College for eight or nine years, and established parish schools. His death occurred in February 1873.

SMULDERS, REV. GILES, C.SS.R.

Father Smulders, born in Endhoven in Holland, November 1, 1815, is remembered as one of the principal missionaries of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. In 1839 he was received as novice, made his religious profession at St. Trond in Belgium on December 8, 1840, finished his theological studies at Wittem in Holland, and was ordained priest September 10, 1843.

When Rev. Father Frederic De Held, the Provincial, was going to make the canonical visitation of the American Houses, he took along a number of Fathers who were willing to embrace that apostolate. Young Father Smulders was one of them. They arrived on American soil in May 1845.

The first appointment of Father Smulders was at Baltimore, where the Fathers had charge not only of St. Alphonsus', but also of the old St. James' Church. Here the first novitiate had been established, and Father Smulders was made Master of Novices to replace Father Glaunach, who was transferred to New York. He remained at his post until August 1847, when the novitiate and the community at St. James' were given up, the congregation being thenceforward attended from St. Alphonsus' Church.

Father Smulders was now transferred to Monroe, Mich. Here the Fathers had charge of a congregation consisting of French, Irish, and Germans. Father Smulders chiefly attended the English-speaking faithful. For eight years he labored in Monroe and the surrounding country. Soon after his arrival he was made Superior of that Community. He paid particular attention to the education of the children. His predecessor had established a sisterhood under the name, "Sister-Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary." Father Smulders took the greatest interest in their work, and helped them in the difficulties which are naturally connected with the beginnings of any institution of this kind.

The year 1848 was one of great trials. An epidemic, the spotted fever, had broken out at Monroe and caused severe

ravages. A saintly companion, Father Poilvache, was attacked by the disease and died after a short illness. Thus Father Smulders was left alone, not only to attend to the regular duties at the church and school, but also to the numerous sick-calls. Happily he got some help from Detroit in the person of Father Leimgruber. Yet the good Father did not escape the epidemic; he fell ill himself, but after some days was able to continue his work.

His life at Monroe was one of uninterrupted apostolic labors, since they extended not only over the town but over the surrounding country. For this reason he begged Father-Provincial in 1851 to be relieved, at least, of the duties of Superior, which request was granted to him in September of that year.

In 1855 the House of the Redemptorists at Monroe was closed by order of the Superior-General, and on May 1, Father Smulders betook himself to Baltimore, where he remained until the spring of the following year, when he was transferred to New York, and in November 1857 to Buffalo, N. Y. There he stayed only a few months, for in April of the following year he was called to Baltimore.

At that time the five native-American Fathers, who soon after formed the Paulist community, had just departed, after seven years of eminent mission-work. Their places had to be supplied, and Father Smulders was called upon to devote himself principally to this apostolate. His missionary career was very successful. Retreats for the clergy, religious communities, and seminarians were entrusted to him. Thus his name became widely known, both among the clergy and the laity.

In December 1860 Father Smulders was transferred to New Orleans, where his zeal and prudence gained for him the confidence of his superiors as well as of the faithful. The Civil War, however, brought a remarkable change in Father Smulders' career.

A notice of Father Smulders taken from the "Daily Picayune" of New Orleans, April 8, 1862, gives interesting details of this part of Father Smulders' life.

"Of the six Redemptorist priests then stationed in New Orleans, all at once volunteered to their Superiors to go out as chaplains of Louisiana regiments. Two were chosen, Fathers Smulders and Sheeran. Father Smulders was attached to the Eighth Louisiana Regiment of Volunteers. Both remained in the Confederate army for four years, and were with General Lee when he laid down his arms at Appomatox Courthouse. Then they returned footsore and weary to the mission house in New Orleans."... "During the trying period of the war the mission-house in Constance street was ever a refuge where the poor, the miserable, the afflicted could go for help and comfort. The faithful Fathers were ever ready to share their last crusts of bread with the stricken people, and many were the boxes that found their way to Father Smulders and Father Sheeran for the Louisiana soldiers.

"It is told, too, how one evening when the news had already come that Gen. Lee had surrendered, the Fathers were seated around their Superior talking of the events in the South, a knock came at the door and the aged sacristan, Brother Louis, opened it, and at once his cry rang through the house, 'Father Smulders! Father Sheeran!'"

This Brother gives the following description of that meeting. "We looked into the faces of the two Fathers; oh, how changed, how pale and sad; they sat down as we gathered around them, and the tears flowed down their cheeks as they told the story that we already knew: 'All is lost! General Lee has surrendered; our regiment is scattered; we made our way home on foot the best we could.' Their clothes were faded and torn, and they looked more like beggars than priests. Their shoes were torn off their feet, which were blistered from walking, and their hands were torn from briars. We got them a warm supper, but they could not eat for the choking tears, and we all sat still far in the night listening to their story of hardships..."

What appeared most remarkable, according to the Brother's account, was the fact, that Father Smulders after four years of relative freedom had not forgotten any of the strict rules of

religious discipline, but was no less observant of them than before.

Shortly after his return to New Orleans Father Smulders was sent to New York, where he labored until August 1886.

In 1866 a new foundation was opened at St. Louis, Mo., where the archbishop and prominent members of the clergy, noticing the great good effected by the missions of the Fathers, were desirous of seeing a House of the Congregation established in the episcopal city. The archbishop offered the Fathers the temporary use of St. Louis Cathedral, until they should be able to build and move to their own church. Father Smulders, who had taken a great part in the missionary labors in that diocese, was sent to St. Louis, where he arrived August 29, 1866. He remained in St. Louis until November 29, 1868. Then he became again attached to the Community of New Orleans for five years, returning to St. Louis in 1874.

In 1880 the Bishop of Detroit invited the Fathers to that city, which they had left eight years before, after having had the care of St. Mary's German parish since 1846. But this time the Fathers were to open a so-called mission-house in the southern part of the city, then called Spring-Wells. As Father Smulders was so very well known as a missionary, he was considered most fit to lay the foundation for this new and important House. He came to Detroit in 1880 and found a sparsely settled territory. A temporary frame church and house were built, which in short time attracted the faithful, eager to avail themselves of the new place of worship. In a few years the district became fairly settled and afforded the Fathers ample occasion to display their zeal. Father Smulders labored about five years in this new field, and had the consolation of seeing his labors crowned with marvelous success. Up to the present day he is considered the founder of the Detroit mission-house.

In 1885 he was called again to St. Louis, where he remained until 1889, when he returned to Detroit. Great was the joy of the faithful to see their old spiritual father again in their midst. Gradually, however, his strength declined and his advanced age made itself felt. Nevertheless, he did not cease to work for the



REV. FRANCIS BAKER, C.S.P.



REV. GEORGE DESHON, C.S.P.



REV. FRANCIS AUGUSTINE HEWIT, C.S.P.

welfare of souls. On December 8, 1890, he had the happiness of celebrating the golden jubilee of his religious profession, and on September 10, 1893, that of his priesthood. In 1898 he returned to St. Louis, where he was stationed at the time of his death. His health had been bad for some time, owing to advancing age. Still his death, sudden as it was, was a great shock to the Redemptorist Fathers in St. Louis and the congregation of St. Alphonsus' Church. In the morning, he said Mass as usual in the domestic chapel. As late as 11 o'clock in the day he paid his visit to the parish school and gave a short instruction to the little children. Early in the afternoon of that same day, April 2, 1900, he died suddenly. The attending physicians said that his death was due to apoplexy.

The memory of this zealous priest is held in benediction wherever he was known.

BAKER, REV. FRANCIS, C.S.P.

Father Baker was born in Baltimore, March 30, 1820. His father, Dr. Samuel Baker, was an eminent physician, son of a wealthy merchant; his mother, who died in 1827, was the daughter of a Methodist minister of Philadelphia.

Shortly after his father's death in 1833, Francis entered Princeton College and was graduated in 1839. In 1842 he joined the Protestant Episcopal Communion and was baptized, together with all the members of his family, in St. Paul's, Baltimore, by Dr. Wyatt, the rector. He then studied for the Episcopal ministry. While a student, he made the acquaintance of Augustine Hewit, and together they would stroll about Baltimore, visiting the Catholic churches. Bishop Wittingham forbade them to attend any Catholic service or to read Catholic books.

On February 16, 1845, Baker was ordained deacon and in August he was assigned as assistant at St. Paul's. The gentle and unassuming youth became a vigorous and eloquent preacher. He was not admitted to the ministry without opposition, based on his questioning of the Thirty-Nine Articles, but after some

deliberation he was ordained on September 20, 1846. In 1851 he was made rector of St. Luke's. In 1852 both his aunt and brother Alfred died. A few years earlier he had become separated from his warm friend Hewit, who had become a Catholic and in 1847 had been ordained a Catholic priest. From that time Hewit's and Baker's relations were constrained and formal. Their correspondence ceased and the friendship was not renewed until Baker himself began to consider his own admission to the Church.

After much wavering, Baker resigned from St. Luke's on April 5, 1853, and on April 9, 1853, was received into the Catholic Church by Father Hewit, then a Redemptorist. At this reception, the Rev. Isaac Hecker was present. On April 17, 1853, Francis Baker was confirmed in the Cathedral of Baltimore by Archbishop Kenrick. His conversion excited a lively controversy, which did not deter many of his former parishioners from following him.

Having attended a Redemptorist mission, he expressed his desire to become a member of that Congregation. He was accepted and was ordained priest September 21, 1856, by Archbishop Kenrick. His first mission sermon he preached at St. Patrick's, Washington, D.C. For a short time he was assigned to parish duty at Annapolis, but he was soon appointed to work on the missions.

With the other four Redemptorists who founded the Congregation of St. Paul the Apostle, he was dispensed from his vows, March 6, 1858. As a Paulist missionary, his record, though brief, is very brilliant. His zealous, vigorous eloquence left a lasting impression wherever he went. His constitution, however, was too weak to endure the hardships of mission life, and from 1861 he began to suffer from throat trouble and after this time preaching was painful to him. But he continued to take his share of duty until a year before his death. On February 18, 1865, he preached his last mission sermon at Clifton, S. I. He was stricken with typhoid fever and then with pneumonia and died on April 4, 1865. At his funeral, April 6, the Mass was sung by Father Hecker and the sermon preached by

his old friend and co-worker, Rev. Augustine Hewit. Thus passed the Rev. Francis A. Baker, whose short career was full of fruit, and whose saintly character and fervent preaching were not easily forgotten by those who came in contact with him.

HEWIT, REV. FRANCIS AUGUSTINE, C.S.P.

Father Hewit, second Superior-General of the Congregation of St. Paul (Paulists), was born in Fairfield, Conn., November 27, 1820, and died in New York City, July 3, 1897. He was of American parentage, though remotely descended from mixed Irish and English stock.

His father, Nathaniel Hewit, a minister of the Congregational Church and a graduate of Yale College and the Andover Theological Seminary, was especially known for his labors in behalf of temperance. His mother, Rebecca Hillhouse, was a daughter of the Hon. James Hillhouse, at one time Representative, and later Senator, from Connecticut.

When six years old, Augustine Hewit began the study of Latin in the town school of Fairfield. Two years later he entered Phillips Academy at Andover and at the age of fifteen began his studies at Amherst College, from which institution he was graduated in 1839.

Repelled from his earliest years by the doctrines of Calvin and attracted toward the Episcopalian Church, with which he became acquainted by reading, he left the Church of his birth and passed into the Episcopalian communion, received deacon's orders, and took charge of a small congregation in the vicinity of Baltimore.

His progress Romeward, which began with his renunciation of Calvinism, was rapid. Following the example of Allies, Faber, Froude, and Newman, he broke abruptly with the Episcopalian Church. He officiated in that Church for the last time on Christmas Day 1845. His first steps toward conversion were due to Protestant influences, his first correct and enlightened views of the Church and her doctrines being gathered from Ranke's "History of the Popes" and Guizot's "History

of European Civilization." The principal Catholic influences which aided in determining his course were the New Testament referring to the Real Presence and to the Primacy of St. Peter, the controversy between Dr. (afterward Archbishop) Hughes and Dr. Breckenridge, and Wiseman's "Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion." He was profoundly impressed by his first visit to St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, where he for the first time in his life attended a solemn Mass. He was convinced that it was the only fitting manner of worshipping God. Prior to his conversion he had but very slight acquaintance with members of the Church. In 1846 he went to South Carolina to improve his health, and while there determined to enter the Catholic Church. He applied for admission to Dr. Reynolds, Bishop England's successor in the see of Charleston, and was received with paternal tenderness. He was instructed and baptized by Dr. Lynch, and received his first communion in the Catholic Church on Easter Day, 1846. His studies for ordination were pursued in Overbrook Seminary. He was raised to the dignity of the priesthood on March 25, 1847.

Shortly afterward while engaged in revising the works of Bishop England, for which purpose he had become a member of Bishop Kenrick's household in Philadelphia, (See *Am. Ecclesiastical Review*, September 1889) he was attracted by the life of the Redemptorist Fathers, whose convent was situated in the vicinity of the episcopal residence. He applied for admission, and after a short probation was made a member of the Community and a few months afterward was sent to Baltimore, the center of the Redemptorist missions in America. As a missionary, he labored with Fathers Hecker, Walworth, Baker, and Deshon until, by the brief of Pius IX on March 6, 1858, Father Hecker and his four associates, including Father Hewit, were separated from the Redemptorist Order.

When the Institute of St. Paul was founded its membership comprised Fathers Hecker, Hewit, Walworth, Baker, and Deshon. For the first few years of the Congregation's existence, Father Hewit engaged in parochial and missionary labors, but after a time was assigned to the duty of training the novices

of the Congregation for the priesthood, and that position he held for thirty years.

He was a staunch friend of the Catholic University, having been among the first to feel the need of such an institution in America. At its inception he transferred the novitiate of the Congregation to Washington and he himself became a lecturer in the University.

Father Hewit was a profound theologian and an orator of great power. His writings were controversial and expository in character. He wrote "The King's Highway," "Problems of the Age," and "A Memoir of Francis A. Baker." In addition to these works he published numerous magazine articles in defence of the Scriptures and the doctrines of the Church. From 1874 to 1876 he was editor-in-chief of the "Catholic World." He wrote the rule of his Community and contributed to the Congress of Religions at the World's Fair in Chicago.

In recognition of his ability and his services to the American Church, he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Rome. Another degree was conferred on him by Amherst College. He was named "theologian" at several plenary councils and appointed diocesan consultor by Cardinal McCloskey of New York. These latter honors the pressure of his home duties compelled him to decline.

Succumbing to illness and the infirmities of many years, Father Hewit died at the house of his Congregation in New York City, July 3, 1897.

DESHON, VERY REV. GEORGE, C.S.P.

It was an old Huguenot family, originally Des Champs by name, that gave to the Church the famous convert, Father Deshon. He was of about the seventh generation of the family in America, being one of a large family that had settled in Connecticut. George Deshon was born in New London, January 30, 1823. His first definitive step in life was his acceptance of a cadetship at West Point. While at the Academy he distinguished himself as a student, graduating second in the

class of 1842. A roommate and classmate of Cadet Deshon was Ulysses S. Grant. As a result of the high academic honors gained by George Deshon, he had the privilege of entering the engineering corps, but on account of the surplus of men in that branch of the service, he took up work in the ordnance department. The first assignment of the young graduate was to Watervliet, N. Y. He was successively stationed at New York City, Pittsburgh, and at the Academy. During the Mexican War, Deshon's connection with the ordnance department naturally prevented his seeing active service at the front. It was during the time of Deshon's teaching at the Academy that his thought turned toward the Catholic religion. This may be said to have resulted from his extensive reading and from the personal example of General Rosecrans, who had joined the Church while he and Deshon were together at Pittsburgh. The decision to enter the Church and to give his life to that Church took George Deshon from the military to the religious service. He entered the novitiate of the Redemptorist Fathers at Cumberland, Md., in 1853. After a three years' course of study there, he was ordained priest and remained a member of the Congregation up to the year 1858, when he joined himself with Fathers Hecker, Hewit, Baker, and Walworth in their establishment of the new Congregation of St. Paul the Apostle. Father Deshon's life as a Paulist divides itself into three periods: first as missionary; second, as master of novices; third, as Superior-General of the Community. In missionary work, he is best remembered as the instructor, as one who gave the solid teaching of Catholicity in a straightforward and convincing manner. He never aspired to be considered as a great pulpit orator.

As a master of novices Father Deshon was insistent upon a strict military observance of rules. It was upon the heroic side of the religious life that he loved to dwell; detachment from the world, poverty, obedience, and mutual charity were favorite subjects with him. One who was a novice under Father Deshon said of him, "His words to us might have been addressed to Carthusians or hermits or cenobites of the desert." The manifold duties of Superior-General took up the later years of

Father Deshon's life. Upon the death of Father Hewit in 1897, the office of Superior was given to Father Deshon, the last surviving member in the community of the original band of founders. From 1897 to 1903 it is the practical man of affairs that appears in Father Deshon, no longer the instructor in pulpit and prayer-hall. He took a special interest in the matter of building. The Paulist Church in New York was really his work. His knowledge of engineering, gained at West Point, was of great service, particularly in the construction of the roof. The field of Paulist activity was widened under Father Deshon's régime by the acquisition of a house at Winchester, Tenn. Finally toward the close of his eightieth year, the old soldier-priest weakened and on December 30, 1903, answered the last call.

Two works by Father Deshon have been published, one a book of practical sermons, and the other a series of instructions for young women in the world. (The Columbus Press.)

NOTE:—The Editor cordially thanks the Rev. Edward P. Spillane, S.J., Rev. Jos. Wuest, C.S.S.R., and Rev. Jos. McSorley, C.S.P., for their contributions to the articles on members of their Orders.

THE CATHOLIC BAR OF NEW YORK FROM 1808 TO 1908

BY EDWARD J. MCGUIRE, A.M.

THE lawyers of the last hundred years who lived in the archdiocese of New York and professed the Catholic religion form an interesting subject for consideration. In chronicling recollections of them the commonplaces about the evanescent fame of the lawyer become even more evident. It is wonderful how fast reputations dwindle and how the memory of important personages is preserved merely by a note in an old record.

The learned professions are not usually recruited from the children of poverty and proscription, although there are notable exceptions to this rule. The vast majority of the Catholics dwelling about the port of New York when the diocese was founded in 1808 were blessed with small means and walked about in simple raiment and lived in humble homes. They relied for the most part upon the labor of their hands for the support of themselves and their children. The Catholic emigration before the year 1800 to what is now the United States was very meager, and but little of it came to New York, which remained a second-rate seaport town until after the Erie Canal was opened in 1825. That from the continent of Europe was small indeed and that from the British Isles was even less. Archbishop Corrigan used to repeat what Archbishop Hughes said, that the acts of the Legislature of New York initiating the work upon the Champlain and the Erie Canals, were the causes of the evangelization of the States of New York and New Jersey. Besides this, prosperous Catholics who were able and willing to educate their sons for liberal professions did not emigrate to America. The emigrants came because their condition at home gave them no hope of bettering their lot or even fear of



WILLIAM L. G. BROWN



THE BROWN FAMILY

THE CATHOLIC BAR OF NEW YORK 1825 TO 1908

By ERNEST J. McGUIRE, A.M.

THE lawyers of the last hundred years were the archdiocese of New York and professed the Catholic form an interesting subject for consideration. In recollections of them the commonplace is almost the fame of the lawyer become even more evident. How low fast reputations dwindle and how the memory of persons is preserved merely by a note in an obituary.

The learned professions are not usually recruited children of poverty and proscription, although there are exceptions to this rule. The vast majority of the lawyers about the port of New York when the bar was founded in 1808 were blessed with small means and about as simple a talent and lived in humble reliance upon the labor of their hands for the most part upon the labor of their hands for the support of themselves and their children. The Catholic population before the year 1860 to what is now the United States was very meager, and but little of it came to New York. It remained a second-rate support town until after the war was opened in 1825. That from the continent of Europe small indeed and that from the British Isles was a small number. Archbishop Corrigan used to repeat what Archbishop Doane said, that the acts of the Legislature of New York in the work up on the Champlain and the Erie Canals, were of the expropriation of the States of New York and New Jersey. Besides this, prosperous Catholics who were able and educated their sons for liberal professions did not come to America. The emigrants came because their condition was so bad that they had no hope of bettering their lot or even



CHARLES O'CONNOR



JOHN MCKEON



THOMAS JAMES GLOVER



making it worse. They came with stout hearts across the waters amid the hardships which then characterized sea voyages, whose dreadful traditions still linger among their descendants in these times of prosperity, and faced in a strange though hospitable land the trials of poverty among hard conditions and often sordid living. The early emigration to America, in a word, whether Irish, English, Scotch, or Continental, consisted of poor people dependent principally upon their labor, who sought in a new country the opportunities which they could not find at home. In looking into the history of the Bar of New York, the usual result of such conditions is found. It is not surprising that the name of no eminent Catholic lawyer appears in its annals, until the little group of the sons of the Irish exiles of "the infernal days of 1798" rose like a galaxy upon the horizon in the thirties.

There was, however, another and a most important reason which led to this result, entirely independent of the condition of the emigrant himself. It is found in what even Goldwin Smith calls the cruel and hateful Penal Code which oppressed Irish and British Catholics until its repeal in 1829.

The Penal Laws of England and of Ireland for a century and a half under penalties of the severest sort studiously prevented the admission of Catholics to any branch of the legal profession. Edmund Burke said of these laws that they were made in malice and vengeance, not in protection of political or religious principles. They aimed at the illiteracy and debasement of a whole people as a penalty for adherence to its ancient and ancestral religion, its love of freedom, and its resistance to an alien rule.

Statute 3 William and Mary, Chapter 2, Section 4, provided that no barrister, attorney, clerk, or officer in chancery should practise in any court without having first taken the oaths and made the declaration against "Popery" in open court. This covered the unfortunate Catholic lawyers then in existence. Great ingenuity was displayed in preventing their increase. The following is a sample of the legislation: Statute 6 Anne, Chapter 6, Sections 1, 2, and 9, provided that not only "papists,"

but those reputed to be "papists," should be forbidden to act as solicitors on pain of a fine of £200 and of being disabled to hold any office, including that of an executor or guardian, or to sue for any right in law or in equity, or to take property by legacy, deed, or gift. It was also therein provided that any person seeing or knowing a "papist" so to act, might openly in court cause the oaths and declaration of abjuration to be tendered and on his refusal the unfortunate man was to be recorded a convict.

If the unfortunate "papist" avoided by any device the other obstacles in his way, upon his application for admission to any branch of the profession the Statute 1 George 2, Chapter 20, required him as an essential preliminary to repeat and subscribe the declaration of the Statute of Anne "to prevent the growth of Popery."

The ban upon Catholic lawyers was raised as to solicitors and attorneys about 1790 and as to barristers a few years later. Daniel O'Connell was one of the first to avail himself of the privilege of admission to the bar.

A curious survival from these days even in the State of New York is to be seen upon the walls of the Bar Association. It is an ancient document, a part of the roll of attorneys. The oath as given contains the following: "I —— do solemnly, without any mental reservation or equivocation whatsoever, swear and declare that I renounce and abjure all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate, and State in all matters, ecclesiastical as well as civil, and that I will bear faith and true allegiance to the State of New York as a free and independent State." The first date is 1794. The Constitution of 1777 required such an oath of every officeholder. It was amended by striking out the provision in 1816.

In 1808 it may safely be stated that there was not a Catholic lawyer practising among the ten thousand Catholics then in the State of New York and the portion of New Jersey comprising the diocese of New York, unless he was the Mr. Blake referred to in William Sampson's account of the trial in the Court of General Sessions in New York City of the famous Phillips

case, in which Father Anthony Kohlmann's refusal to violate the secrecy of the confessional was considered. The trial was in June, 1813. He says, "Mr. Blake, who had come into court with the clergymen and trustees of the church, rose and made a few grave and impressive observations." Who he was has not been ascertained. William Sampson above referred to is an interesting figure. He was the son of a Presbyterian minister, a graduate of Trinity College and a barrister who was made a prisoner in the Irish rebellion of 1798 and banished from his country. He became a man of great importance at the bar of New York and continued an ardent champion of religious and civil liberty until his death, in 1836. He was chosen by Father Kohlmann and St. Peter's Church to be their counsel and champion in their famous case. His speech on the trial is exhilarating even to this day. It may be said in passing, that De Witt Clinton, in delivering the opinion of the court sustaining Father Kohlmann in his refusal to disclose matters communicated to him by a penitent in the sacrament of Penance, used these words, which properly may be set beside the extract from the Penal Laws above referred to:

"They (the witness and his brethren) are protected by the laws and constitution of this country in the full and free exercise of their religion, and this court can never countenance or authorize the application of insult to their faith or of torture to their consciences."

These are the principles under which the New York Bar has seen the Catholic lawyers progress for these hundred years.

It is not certain who was the first Catholic lawyer in New York. There probably were a few in the first years of the century, after the emigration became extensive, but their names are not known. In the "Irishman," published in New York in 1835, appeared this advertisement: "Any information relative to Counselor Crimen, who emigrated from Cork, Ireland, to this city some years ago, would be thankfully received at the office of this paper." There was probably a tragedy hidden in this commonplace statement. How many more such there were, no one can tell. Such things were doubtless in the mind of

Lord Russell of Killowen, when in his address at the Catholic Club in October 1896, he referred to the unwritten story of the Irish emigration to America, filled with a wealth of tragedy, courage, and love of God, hidden under poor and sordid dress.

James Lynch, the son of Dominick Lynch, one of the richest and most celebrated Irishmen of the early days, served a term as a judge of the Court of Sessions and of the Marine Court of the City of New York early in the century, but little is known of his career as a lawyer.

Thomas J. Brady came from Ireland to Newark in 1812. In 1814 he came to New York, where his sons James T. and John R. were born. He had an excellent education and is said to have spoken French and Spanish fluently. He opened a school to which Cardinal McCloskey went as a little boy. He was admitted to the bar in New York from the office of John S. Riker, one of the leaders of the profession. In 1826 his advertisement appears as an attorney and counselor at law and translator at 13 Beekman Street. Charles O'Connor claimed half humorously in later years that he assisted in the legal training of James T. Brady and he undoubtedly was closely associated with him and his father. He says curiously that the modesty and silence of the boy were then so marked, that his demeanor might lead a hurried observer to pronounce him not promising.

James T. Brady is said by his contemporaries to have been the most richly endowed of all the lawyers of his time. The stories told of the effect of his eloquence, especially in criminal trials, are almost fabulous. By almost universal consent he came closer to genius than any of the others. He lived a life of marvelous brilliancy. Although he was District Attorney, Corporation Counsel, a candidate for Governor in 1860, and most active in State and national politics throughout his entire life, political distinctions add nothing to his fame. His personality was beloved intensely. When he died of paralysis in 1869 the whole city was plunged in grief. He kept his childlike faith in the old religion. In one of his speeches he speaks of "the solemn rites of that old faith made dear to me by so many sacred memories, the faith in which I live and in which I mean

to die." The conditions under which this great man was trained in his faith were apparently not favorable. The condition even of a religious community at the time of James T. Brady's birth in 1815 is recorded in their memoirs. In 1812 the Ursulines came to Bloomingdale and were incorporated in 1814. Shortly afterward, in 1817, they withdrew. The comforts of religion were afforded them only at uncertain and irregular intervals. In fact they had been at times an entire month without hearing Mass or approaching the sacraments even on Sunday, and though within six miles of New York they were dependent on the casual visit of a passing clergyman for the most necessary ministrations of religion. It is to be remembered, though, that these pioneers of Catholicism had sturdy faith on view in the characters of their parents and that all primary education was religious. It is a notable fact that St. Peter's Church has kept a school without intermission from its foundation in 1785. It is referred to in Longworth's Directory in 1805 as having an attendance of one hundred pupils. It is interesting, also, to note that the site of the school has continued almost without change during the whole period.

James McKeon, afterward a captain in the Third U. S. Artillery in the War of 1812, was one of the group of better situated Irishmen who at the opening of the century came prepared to engage in land development in the Central New York territory, which had been wrested from the peril of the Indians of the Six Nations by General Sullivan scarcely thirty years before. He was connected afterward with the Devereaux, Kernan, and White families of Utica and its neighborhood, which produced besides John McKeon, Senator Francis Kernan, Judge James W. White of the New York Superior Court, and other distinguished American Catholics. His son, John McKeon, born in Albany in 1804, graduated from Columbia College in 1824 and soon became a man of distinction. He was in the Legislature three terms and in Congress two terms. He was District Attorney of New York County twice, once in 1845 and again in his old age in 1881. He was U. S. District Attorney in 1853. He was an active participant in political

life, and in religion an ardent Catholic. He was for years the senior partner of Frederick Smyth, the revered judge of recent memory. He was of small and frail body, but of strong courage and of immense energy. Archbishop Hughes found in him a devoted champion in all his conflicts as well as a wise counselor. He died in 1883 while District Attorney of New York, respected and revered by all.

Thomas O'Connor was one of the literary Irishmen whom the troubles of 1798 led to New York. He also was associated with William Kernan, the father of Senator Kernan, in the New York land settlements above referred to. He was the earliest Irish journalist in New York. His paper, "The Shamrock or Hibernian Chronicle," was first published on December 15, 1810, and continued to appear until 1817. In January, 1819, it was revived as "The Globe," a monthly, but it only lasted about a year in that form. Charles O'Connor, his son, was born in January, 1804. As a little boy he helped his father by distributing the papers. He entered a law office as an errand boy when he was twelve years old. When he died, William C. Ruger, the chief judge of the State of New York, said of him that he was unrivaled in our annals for length of service and brilliancy of professional achievement. Frederic R. Coudert said of him that he was the greatest lawyer that his generation had known. He went to the bar in 1825, when New York had less than 200,000 inhabitants and Brooklyn was a rural village. He saw the great metropolis grow up about him. He helped greatly in the building up of the judicial system and in the adaptation of the law to the new conditions. He took a great and honorable part in politics and public life. He set a standard of professional conduct which is still striven for by his successors. At a time distinguished for its great lawyers, he was admittedly the leader of the Bar. To the world at large he seemed, as Joseph H. Choate said of him once, "like a machine of steel springs and hard rubber"; but to those who knew him he showed the tenderness and gentleness of his heart and a nature as loving as a woman's. His ideal was Thomas Addis Emmet, that romantic figure of the old New York Bar. He

loved him the more because his name brought memories of his father's land. A story is told that one day he began quoting from one of William Sampson's speeches some lines about the Irish peasant. "He was born in a land which no longer was his; in the midst of plenty his children ate the bread of poverty; he toiled for a landlord whose face he never saw—" He stopped abruptly and his auditor looking up saw his face convulsed in grief. O'Connor turned away and changed the subject. He died in advanced age in 1884. In Mr. Coudert's memoir of him are found these words: "With the old faith of his fathers strong in his heart, with an unstained record, and a certain hope of glorious life beyond the grave, he fell quietly asleep."

The group of Catholic men, who in the thirties, forties, and fifties made their mark upon the record of the New York Bar is not small. Only a few can be chosen for mention.

T. James Glover should stand among the first in any sketch of the Catholics at the New York Bar. He was the counsel to Archbishop Hughes in the Know-Nothing agitation and was of especial service in his controversy regarding ecclesiastical real estate titles with Senator Erastus Brooks in 1855. He continued to serve the archdiocese and Archbishop Hughes' successors until his death. His reputation as a conveyancer and office lawyer was of the highest. He left behind him the memory of a cultured Catholic gentleman.

Charles P. Daly became a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1844 and served with distinction for an unbroken period of forty-six years until his retirement upon reaching the age of seventy in 1890. He began life as a sailor and was afterward a carpenter, studying law privately. He was but twenty-four years old when he went upon the bench. He became a most scholarly and learned judge whose opinions were highly regarded. His general erudition was remarkable, but he was especially learned in geographical subjects, on which he was regarded as an authority. He died in 1899, full of years and honors.

John R. Brady, the brother of James T. Brady, was born in New York in 1821 and was the first Catholic to become a

justice of the Supreme Court in New York City. He served several terms as judge of the Court of Common Pleas before his promotion. He was not the equal in talent of his eloquent brother, but in vivacity, wit, and good comradeship he left nothing to be desired and was nearly his rival. He was a painstaking and conscientious judge of far more than ordinary merit. He served in judicial office from 1855 until his death in 1891 during his second term in the Supreme Court.

Robert J. Dillon was another of the distinguished Catholic lawyers of this period. He was the son of Gregory Dillon, a wealthy merchant of the city. He served a term as Corporation Counsel. In public and private works he was most active. He took a prominent part in the formation of the Irish Emigrant Society and the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank, two of the great monuments of the past generations. He was of excellent presence, as his portrait on the wall of the Savings Bank proclaims, and he was long a distinguished figure in the city's social life.

Mention is made in the old records of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick of Bartholomew O'Connor, who was a justice of the District Court in 1849, of Charles H. Dougherty, who was in a similar office in another district at the same time, and of Florence McCarthy, Frederick Smyth's first preceptor in the law, who sat in the Marine Court in the fifties and early sixties. It is interesting to note that in those days the patronal feast began at half-past five in the afternoon and that the St. Patrick's Day parade was from Second Street down the Bowery and Chatham Street and past the City Hall.

The Civil War period brought into prominence another group of men. Into the Marine Court came Edmund L. Hearne and Henry A. Alker. James W. White, who has already been mentioned, took his place in the Superior Court. He sat from 1860 to 1864, when he retired, having been defeated for re-election. He has left behind him the reputation of an honorable and high-minded gentleman and worthy judge. At the bar John E. Develin, the able counsel and adviser of the Democratic Party and afterward Corporation Counsel, held a high place for more

than thirty years, until his death in 1888. His firm, Develin & Miller, was counsel for the Mutual Life Insurance Company and similar large financial interests, but it will best be remembered for its service as counsel to the Sisters of Charity for a generation.

Richard O'Gorman, an eloquent Irishman of the 1848 days, also made a deep impression upon the New York Bar. A scholarly and courtly gentleman of remarkable talent as a public speaker, he was a distinguished figure for many years. He served as Corporation Counsel also, and in 1882 was elected a judge of the Superior Court, in which he sat with honor and distinction until his retirement for age in 1892.

General Thomas Francis Meagher and General Martin T. McMahon were both lawyers at the New York bar, but their principal service was in other fields, although General McMahon in 1896 was elected a justice of the Court of General Sessions and served acceptably until his death in 1906.

Enoch Lewis Lowe, after service as Governor of Maryland, came to New York about 1872 and practised law with distinction and success for many years, until ill health compelled him to retire. He was of the old Catholic Maryland stock and a graduate of Stonyhurst, England, where General Meagher was his classmate.

In more recent days which are near enough for vivid personal memories, the names of Frederic R. Coudert, George Bliss, Oliver P. Buel, William Hildreth Field, Andrew Fallon, John Vincent, Joseph F. Mosher, Frederick Smyth, Robert B. Roosevelt, and many others, crowd upon the memory. It is too soon, perhaps, to speak with certainty of their histories, but it surely can be said that they left the impress of their faith upon the community in which they spent noble lives.

To speak of living men is always a delicate matter, but it may be permissible to mention those at least who have rendered distinguished service in judicial capacities.

Among those who have retired from the bench Joseph F. Daly stands pre-eminent. During his twenty-eight years of service, from the time when at the age of twenty-nine in 1870 he became

a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, until in 1898 when political causes led to his defeat for re-election, he held the name of Catholic gentleman before all the people as a title of honor. Since his term of office expired he has kept at the bar the high reputation which he won upon the bench.

Morgan J. O'Brien, after a service of twenty years on the Supreme Court bench, during which he reached the high office of presiding judge and won the praise and admiration of the entire community, retired in 1907 with the regret of the whole bench and bar and has since taken up the practice of the law with most remarkable success.

Charles Donohue, the Nestor of the profession, after a distinguished career at the bar, served the State on the Supreme Court bench from 1874 until 1888, since which time he has actively practised his profession. Although he approaches his eighty-fifth year he still keeps good health and unimpaired faculties.

Upon the bench of the courts of the city at this day the Catholic Church counts many of her sons. In the Supreme Court are Edward B. Amend, John J. Brady, Victor J. Dowling, James Fitzgerald, Leonard A. Giegerich, John W. Goff, Peter A. Hendrick, Edward E. McCall, and James A. O'Gorman. In the Court of General Sessions are James T. Malone, Joseph F. Mulqueen, and Thomas C. O'Sullivan. In the City Court are Lewis J. Conlan, Francis B. Delahanty, Thomas F. Donnelly, John V. McAvoy, and Edward F. O'Dwyer. In the Municipal Courts are Michael F. Blake, William J. Boyhan, Thomas B. Dinnean, Joseph P. Fallon, John Hoyer, James W. McLaughlin, William F. Moore, Thomas E. Murray, George F. Roesch, Peter A. Shiel, Philip J. Sinnott, and John M. Tierney.

The century that has closed has brought about stupendous changes in the profession of the law. The standards of honor and integrity continue the same. The men who fought for them under the banner of the Catholic Church in the past have given traditions to those who follow under the same guidance. At the end of the next century it will be well if the retrospect shows

that under happier skies and larger horizons these ideals have been as ably served and that the goal has been as often obtained as in the one which now closes. That century opened with scarcely a Catholic lawyer in the courts. It ends with several thousands of them honorably serving their noble profession.

CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND THE REVIVALS OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

BY PETER CONDON

IV

(Concluding Chapter)

IN PRECEDING numbers of HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES we showed the existence in this country of a spirit of anti-Catholic prejudice, which, continuing from the Colonial period and shared by a large number of the population, was nursed and developed by designing leaders so as to become in time a disturbing feature in the social and political life of the nation. The spirit of religious intolerance thus promoted was generally masked under the specious pretence of patriotic purpose, and the safety and prosperity of the republic were declared to be in danger unless "Romanism," meaning the Roman Catholic religion, should be exterminated and foreign-born citizens, especially those professing that religion, excluded from all participation in the Government. This sentiment, more or less openly avowed, has been the keynote of the various "Native American" movements which have blackened the pages of American history. In a former chapter (Vol. IV, p. 145) we brought the history of the progress of this movement to the period 1850-1852, when what is known as the "Know-Nothing" spirit began its aggressive career, and we now continue our narrative from that point.

*The Know-Nothing Party —
Its Formal Organization
in 1852*

The Know-Nothing Party was formally organized in the year 1852 and was the outcome of a plan which had been devised for the purpose of uniting the various elements belonging to the old Native-American Party

against what was called "foreign and papal encroachments." This scheme had been under consideration for two or three preceding years and the changes in political conditions throughout the Union favored the launching of a new party which it was believed would attract the dissatisfied elements of the older ones.

The frequent recurrence of the disturbing slavery question had aroused sectional differences and had loosened the ties by which the old political parties had kept their adherents together. The Fugitive Slave law of 1850 had been passed by way of compensation to the South for the political loss of power involved in the admission of California to the Union as a free State. While the latter act had excited Southern sentiment to the point of proclaiming the right of a State to secede from the Union, the Fugitive Slave Act and the methods adopted by slave-owners to retake their runaway slaves at the North had, on the other hand, provoked fierce opposition from those who opposed slavery. The Whig Party, the successors of the old Federalists whose policy it was to proscribe Catholics and foreigners, had alienated many of its members by its formal sanction of the compromise measures on the subject of slavery brought forward by Henry Clay in 1850, and with the election in 1852 that party passed out of existence. In the North a considerable element of the Democratic Party favored the policy of excluding slavery from the newly-formed States and territories and was dissatisfied with the compromising attitude of the party on that question. There had been an extraordinary increase in the Catholic immigration from Ireland during the years succeeding the great famine of 1847, most of such immigrants remaining in New York and in other large cities of the East, where they had attached themselves to the Democratic Party. There had likewise been a large influx of German immigrants, many of them political exiles, who avowed their intention of using American citizenship for the propagation of the revolutionary principles which had forced them to leave Europe; and the infusion of these foreign elements tended to increase the uncertainty of all political calculations. The old-

time proposals for the restriction of immigration and for the lengthening of the period of residence in this country before admitting immigrants to citizenship were again brought up for discussion by the press and were advocated even in the halls of Congress, and the champions of the Native-American policy found the time opportune for organizing their followers in the new movement.

Although the Know-Nothing Party was begun as a local society in New York, its founders evidently intended to make it ultimately a national organization. At the outset the membership was supplied from the old Order of United Americans, and the first Know-Nothing assemblage consisted of forty-three members who associated themselves together in New York City. The general objects of the order, says one of its organizers,¹ "were the same as those of the O. U. A., but the qualifications necessary to obtain membership were far more restrictive and the appurtenances of secrecy more specific and stringent. It cost nothing to acquire and hold membership... No fees or dues whatever were charged upon the members, the whole system relying on voluntary contributions for its support... Its plan of political action, like that of the Order of United Americans, contemplated the control, rather than the making, of nominations proper. There was no stated time or place of meeting. It was called together whenever occasion required by the president, either at a private house or in some lodge-room after the lodge had adjourned."

It aimed at local and municipal victories, such as had been achieved in the civic contests in Philadelphia and New York in 1843. Its meetings were held as privately as possible and a council of delegates from the various lodges made the nominations. Sometimes it contented itself with picking out candidates from the tickets of other parties for whom the members voted under secret instructions and without any public announcement of their intentions.

The apologist for the Native-American movement, from

¹ See "Defence of American Policy," Thos. B. Whitney, N. Y., 1856, p. 281.

whom we have had occasion to quote, has not favored us with any account of the qualifications for membership, nor of the obligations assumed by members on entering this new order; but from independent, non-partisan sources we are enabled to supply the deficiency and we extract the following articles from the Ritual, under which the work of this organization was carried on.¹

ARTICLE 1

<i>The Know-Nothing Ritual— Qualifications of Members</i>

This organization shall be known by the name and title of the National Council of the United States of North America, and its jurisdiction and power shall extend to all the States, districts, and territories of the United States of North America.

ARTICLE 2

The object of this organization shall be to protect every American citizen in the legal and proper exercise of all his civil and religious rights and privileges; to resist the insidious policy of the Church of Rome and all other foreign influence against our republican institutions in all lawful ways; to place in all offices of honor, trust, or profit, in the gift of the people or by appointment, none but native-born Protestant citizens and to protect, preserve, and uphold the Union of these States and the Constitution of the same.

ARTICLE 3

Section 1. A person to become a member of any subordinate Council must be twenty-one years of age; he must believe in the existence of a Supreme Being as the Creator and Preserver of the universe. He must be a native-born citizen; a Protestant either born of Protestant parents or reared under Protestant influence; and not united in marriage with a Roman Catholic; provided nevertheless that in this last respect the State, district, or territorial councils shall be authorized to so construct their respective constitutions as shall best promote the interests of the American cause in their several jurisdictions; and provided moreover that no member who may have a Roman Catholic wife

¹ See "American Politics," etc., Thomas V. Cooper and Hector T. Fenton, Chicago, 1884, pp. 57-58-59.

shall be eligible to office in this order; and provided, further, should any State, district, or territorial council prefer the words, "Roman Catholic," as a disqualification to membership in place of "Protestant" as a qualification, they may so consider this Constitution and govern their action accordingly.

The various ranks of membership were divided into State, district, and territorial councils, all of them subordinate to the National Council, which was the supreme head of the organization. This Supreme Council was empowered to "fix and establish all signs, grips, passwords and such other secret work as may seem to it necessary" (Sec. 5 of Art. 3), "to decide all matters appertaining to national politics...to determine upon a mode of punishment in case of any dereliction of duty on the part of its members or officers." (Id.) And it had the most comprehensive authority to do whatever else it saw fit "to secure the success of the organization." A cabalistic sign or summons of public notification to the faithful was provided for, and as these gentry dreaded the light it was declared a "penal offence to post such notice at any other time than from midnight to one hour before daybreak" (Rule 6). A triangle of white paper specifying a date was a call for a lodge meeting; a red triangle meant a danger signal.

The National Council was made up of delegates from the State councils. These in turn were composed of members drawn from the subordinate or local councils. In each subordinate council there were three degrees of membership, and before any candidate could be admitted to the first or lowest degree, besides being vouched for by a brother "of approved integrity" he must have been sworn upon a Bible and a Cross,¹ and answer as to his birthplace, his religion and that of his wife, and as to his

¹ "When it is known," says the Ritual, "that the applicant is a Protestant, the cross may be dispensed with." The offensive insinuation that an oath by a Catholic could not be relied on unless he were sworn upon a cross was illustrated in an incident mentioned by Shea (History, etc., vol. iv, p. 389), where the officials at Baltimore attempted to exact such a form of oath from a Catholic before allowing him to withdraw his goods from the Custom House.

determination to exclude "all foreigners, aliens, and Roman Catholics in particular and without regard to party predilections," from every office of honor, trust, or profit in the gift of the people. The following oath was then administered:

"OBLIGATION.

Obligations of Members

In the presence of Almighty God and these witnesses, you do solemnly promise and swear that you will never betray any of the secrets of this society, nor communicate them even to proper candidates, except within a lawful council of the order; that you never will permit any of the secrets of this society to be written, or in any other manner made legible, except for the purpose of official instruction; that you will not vote, nor give your influence for any man for any office in the gift of the people, unless he be an American-born citizen, in favor of Americans ruling America, nor if he be a Roman Catholic; that you will in all political matters, so far as this order is concerned, comply with the will of the majority, though it may conflict with your personal preference, so long as it does not conflict with the Constitution of the United States of America or that of the State in which you reside; that you will not, under any circumstances whatever, knowingly recommend an unworthy person for initiation, nor suffer it to be done, if in your power to prevent it; that you will not, under any circumstances, expose the name of any member of this order nor reveal the existence of such an association; that you will answer an imperative notice issued by the proper authority; obey the command of the State council, president or his deputy, while assembled by such notice, and respond to the claim of a sign or cry of the order, unless it be physically impossible; and that you will acknowledge the State Council of ——— as the legislative head, the ruling authority, and the supreme tribunal of the order in the State of ——— acting under the jurisdiction of the National Council of the United States of North America."

No comment is needed to show how aptly the title of "Know-Nothing" was bestowed on a society whose members were bound by oath to conceal not only its secrets but likewise the very fact of its existence.

After the various "grips," "signs," "passwords," and "cries" had been communicated to the newly-made members, they were admonished by the President in the following terms:

"THE PRESIDENT: It has no doubt been long apparent to you, brothers, that foreign influence and Roman Catholicism have been making steady and alarming progress in our country. You cannot have failed to observe the significant transition of the foreigners and Romanists from a character quiet, retiring, and even abject, to one bold, threatening, turbulent, and despotic in its appearance and assumptions. You must have become alarmed at the systematic and rapidly augmenting power of these dangerous and unnatural elements of our national condition. So it is, brothers, with others beside yourselves in every State of the Union. A sense of danger has struck the great heart of the nation. In every city, town, and hamlet the danger has been seen and the alarm sounded. And hence, true men devised this order as a means of disseminating patriotic principles, of keeping alive the fire of national virtue, of fostering the national intelligence, and of advancing America and the American interest on the one side, and, on the other, of checking the strides of the foreigner or alien, or thwarting the machinations and subverting the deadly plans of the Papist and Jesuit."

As in most other secret associations there were second and third degrees of membership, to which the initiated were admitted after their loyalty had been proved and they deemed fit to be entrusted with a more intimate knowledge of the plans and purposes of the body.

While the above extracts from their Ritual exhibit the true character and purposes of the Know-Nothing Party it was not deemed expedient to confide the knowledge of these purposes to the general public. *Non expedit omnem veritatem prodere vulgo.* Instead, the "Natives" had a "declaration of principles" for public use which professed most insincerely, "no interference with religious faith or worship and no test or oaths for office" (Sec. 10); they proposed (Sec. 9), "a twenty-one year residence as an indispensable requisite for citizenship," and that "Americans must rule America, . . . but no interference with the vested rights (!) of foreigners" (Sec. 3).

Truly one does not know whether to be indignant at the duplicity and false pretense involved in these contradictory declarations or grieved at the thought of the enormous number of our fellow-citizens who were induced by their unscrupulous leaders to identify themselves with this nefarious movement and thus become in some degree accomplices in the crimes which were directly traceable to it.

A writer in "New England Magazine,"¹ who investigated the history of one of the local councils, that of Worcester, Mass., and who derived his information directly from the survivors of that council and from its original Record Book in his possession, gives some interesting details of the initiation of members. After a candidate had been favorably voted on in the council and notified to attend he was conducted with due secrecy to the ante-room. "Here he was obliged to take an oath of secrecy and to swear that he was himself of anti-Catholic sentiments and that neither his wife nor his ancestors were Catholics. Very rarely did a man, having come thus far, decline to take this oath, which would enable him to penetrate into still weightier mysteries. Mystic rappings and some Native-American password at the outer door had been necessary to admit him to the ante-room. Indian names were favorites as passwords. If 'Shebogan' were given at the outer door, 'Place of meeting' was the sesame which threw open the penetralia. Or perhaps it was 'George Washington' which admitted him to the ante-room; if so, the 'Father of his Country' ushered him into the august presence of assembled 'Sam' ('Sam' was the soubriquet by which the order was known among its members). Here he was instructed in the principles of the order. The initiation ceremony was short and simple, consisting in the taking of more oaths and the signing of the council pledge. It reached the climax in the solemn announcement, 'You are now a member of the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner,' for by this potent name was the order known to the elect, within the holy place beyond the hearing of profane ears. It is amusing to learn what delicate provision was made for easing the tender

¹ Vol. xv, no. 1, p. 82. Sept. 1896.

Know-Nothing conscience. While the initiate was completing his membership by signing this book, every other name was concealed from him. When he went forth into the world, and was asked by the impertinently curious, 'Is Smith a member of the American Party?' it was held that he could conscientiously answer, 'I don't know,' because, forsooth, he had never seen Smith's name signed to the pledge, although for a year he might have been meeting him every week behind two locked doors which he could have passed by no other means than by giving the secret raps and passwords."

*The Progress of the Know-
Nothing Movement —
Its Political Activities*

The movement spread with great rapidity, not only in the City and State of New York, but throughout the Union, so that within three years State councils had been established in thirty-five different States and territories and its advocates claimed that it controlled one and a half million legal voters¹ or nearly one half of the entire popular vote cast at the Presidential election in 1852. Its principles were stated to be the same as those which actuated the American Party in 1834 and 1844, and it was essentially the Native-American Party of those days revived under a different name. Small wonder therefore that its activities should have provoked the riots, church burning, bloodshed, and other forms of lawlessness similar to those which had marked the trail of its predecessors.

Not willing to acknowledge publicly the part it designed to play, the order contented itself in local politics with secretly canvassing the qualifications of the various candidates presented by other bodies. Needless to say that those of foreign birth, or who might be suspected of any leaning to the Catholic Church, were literally ostracized. From the remaining ones the lodge selected for its support on election day those who could be relied on to favor the Native-American movement. In the larger field of State politics and after the leaders had tested their strength in municipal elections, State councils were held, at which nomi-

¹ See Whitney, *supra*, p. 235.

nations were publicly announced and all the influence of the order was exerted toward the election of its candidates.

Speaking of the new party and its methods, the authors of the "Life of Lincoln" say:¹ "Essentially it was a revival of the extinct 'Native-American' faction based upon a jealousy of and discrimination against foreign-born voters, desiring an extension of their period of naturalization and their exclusion from office; also based upon a certain hostility to the Roman Catholic religion. . . . It had been re-organized as a secret order in 1853 and rapidly gained recruits in both North and South. . . . Operating in entire secrecy, the country was startled by the sudden appearance in one locality after another on election day of a potent and unsuspected political power which in many instances pushed both the old organizations to defeat."

The historian Schouler says: "The order was called Know-Nothing because its members when questioned as to its methods and principles were sworn to profess their entire ignorance. . . . They revived the bitter spirit of intolerance against the Roman Catholic Church, such as ten years before had been shown in the riots of Charlestown and Philadelphia, by representing it as foreign, the handmaid of popular ignorance, and bent on chaining Americans to the throne of the Vatican. . . . Catholic churches were assaulted every now and then by some crowd of Bible bigots helped on by the brawny friends of free fight inflamed by street preachers and the revelations of 'converted Jesuits' and 'escaped nuns,' etc."²

And Stephen A. Douglas, U. S. Senator from Illinois, who had championed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in Congress (1854), speaking of the methods and operations of the party said:

"In the spring of 1854, pending the Nebraska Bill the Know-Nothing Party arose silently and secretly. The first that was known of it was, when in parts of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and other places, persons were elected to office who were not in nomination, and not known to be running till after elected, and when in Washington people were driven

¹ See Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. II, p. 357.

² See "History of the United States," vol. V, p. 305.

from the polls. This party gave vitality and strength to the Republican Party. Nearly all the Republicans throughout the country went into its lodges; and a member from Tennessee by some means got hold of the names of the Republican members of Congress who were members, and made a speech in the House, in which he called them by name and defied them to deny it. The party struck terror everywhere among the Democrats, and threatened to gain absolute possession of the Government. I tried to get the Democrats in caucus to denounce it, but they refused and were afraid... The party received the name 'Know-Nothing,' because its members were instructed to answer, 'I know nothing,' to all questions put to them. It had no principles to make a party — no great issues."¹

*Know-Nothingism in State
and National Elections*

The party had been successful in municipal elections in Philadelphia, Baltimore, San Francisco, New Orleans, and for a time in New York City. Following these successes and in 1854, the Know-Nothings sent forty representatives to Congress and elected their candidate, Henry J. Gardiner, Governor of Massachusetts, with a majority of over 50,000 votes and a Legislature of the same type. In New York their candidate for Governor, Daniel F. Ullman, although failing of election, polled 122,000 votes, while in the following year the Native-American vote of that State was increased to 146,000 and elected the historian J. T. Headley, Secretary of State, the highest office to be filled that year. In 1855 New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island each elected a Know-Nothing Governor; altogether the "Natives" carried the election in nine different States. In the thirty-fifth Congress, which assembled in December of that year, there were seventy-five Know-Nothing members elected as such.

In a letter written by Horace Greeley to Charles A. Dana published in the "New York Tribune," January 12, 1856, he

¹ See Outts' "Brief Treatise upon Constitutional and Party Questions," etc., N. Y. 1866, p. 121-122.

says: "The majority of the Banks¹ men are now members of Know-Nothing councils and some twenty or thirty of them actually believe in that swindle. Half the Massachusetts delegation, two-thirds of that of Ohio, and nearly all that of Pennsylvania are Know-Nothings." It was of the Know-Nothing Party that Greeley wrote² that it was "as devoid of the elements of persistence as an anti-cholera or anti-potato rot party would be."

In the beginning of this year (1855), Henry A. Wise was elected Governor of Virginia on a Democratic ticket, having made a notable campaign chiefly on the issue of his antagonism to Native-American principles and policies. In its address to the voters the Democratic executive committee of that State ridiculed the pretended solicitude of the Know-Nothing Party for the safety of the Government against the "encroachments" of the Catholic Church, saying: "For every Roman Catholic priest in the United States there are some twenty-five Protestant preachers; for every Catholic altar there are thirty Protestant pulpits. Scarcely one-twentieth part of the population of the Union is attached to the Roman Catholic religion. If Protestantism is not safe with these heavy odds in its favor, its ascendancy will not be maintained by persecution and civil disabilities imposed upon its opponents."³

The climax of the political efforts of the Know-Nothings was reached in the National Convention held by them in Philadelphia in February, 1856, at which they nominated Millard Fillmore as their candidate for President upon a platform which rehearsed their ancient platitudes respecting foreigners, naturalization, and "Americans ruling America." But by this time the eyes of the American people were opened to the real meaning of Know-Nothingism. Its lawlessness had shocked all decent citizens. The pretence of defending American institutions with the aid of mysterious grips and passwords exchanged

¹ Nathaniel P. Banks, a Know-Nothing, who had been nominated for Speaker of the House of Representatives.

² *Whig Almanac*, 1855, p. 22.

³ See Von Holst, "Constitutional History," vol. v, p. 108.

at secret meetings, followed a few days later by the burning of a Catholic church, no longer deceived any one, and the great and glorious "Order of the Star Spangled Banner" had apparently run its mischievous course. Opposed to the Native-American Party in that year were the Democratic Party and the newly organized Republican Party. The former had nominated James Buchanan for President upon a platform which explicitly condemned Native-Americanism. The Republican Party had also, though less explicitly, expressed its disapproval of Native-American principles.

Speaking of the political campaign which followed and of the efforts made by the Know-Nothing leaders to elect their candidate, Schouler says:¹ "They had no statesman of their own. They affiliated wherever they thought they could make progress and tried to please both sections of the dominant parties, their favorite platitude being 'Americans must rule America.' But their candidate, Fillmore, met with the most ignoble defeat, receiving only the eight electoral votes of Maryland, his adversary, James Buchanan, the nominee of the National Democratic Party, being triumphantly elected. For the Native-Americans with their proscriptive tenets the defeat was overwhelming. It was apparent that the American or Know-Nothing Party had now nearly evaporated."

*The Delusions Involved in
Know-Nothingism*

If the energies of Know-Nothingism had been confined within the ordinary limits of political activity, if its partisans had contented themselves with simply denouncing the Pope and arguing for the proscription of Catholics and foreigners, however reprehensible such a course might be, the history of the Know-Nothing movement would be merely the record of another of those popular delusions of which great masses of men from time to time have become victims — another chapter in the book of human folly. That a million or more of Catholic citizens should be conspiring to overturn the Government which they had sworn to maintain, thereby jeo-

¹ "History of the United States," vol. iv, p. 357.

pardizing their own lives, their homes, the welfare of their families, and whatever prosperity they enjoyed or hoped to enjoy; that their bishops, and priests acting in concert with the Pope, should be engaged in the same treasonable plot; that Catholic voters would exert their political power to put the Government of the country in the hands of the Pope; that the Bible (which the Catholic Church alone during sixteen centuries had preserved for religion) would be consigned to oblivion and that their Protestant fellow citizens who were as twenty to one in the population, would be oppressed, persecuted, and possibly expelled from the country; — surely, no wilder thoughts ever found lodgment in otherwise rational minds since the days when innocent men and women were hanged or burned because suspected of witchcraft. And yet such assertions were everywhere made by Know-Nothing writers and speakers. Political demagogues and miscalled teachers of religion thundered from platform and pulpit against the “abomination of Popery,” thereby arousing prejudice against the Church; men were incited to hatred of their fellow-men. The Pope was described as the “Man of Sin and the Son of Perdition,” sometimes as “Antichrist”; Catholic churches were referred to as “Synagogues of Satan”; bishops and priests were publicly insulted and the vilest insinuations published or spoken against our convents and their inmates. All this abuse culminated, as it was intended it should, in deeds of violence and aggression against Catholics, plotted in the Know-Nothing lodges, carried out by their members, and only too often connived at by public officials, themselves the secret allies of the criminals whose lawless deeds they should and could have prevented.

Most of our American non-Catholic historians have dealt very tenderly with this topic. Some have noted the rise and fall of the American Party as an ordinary political event without making even the slightest reference to the spirit by which it was animated, or the shameful acts which the truth of history has laid up against it. Others again have been content to say that the movement was unnecessary and unwise while ignoring the facts which called for much harsher characterization. In

none do we find the unlawful purposes of Know-Nothingism or the excesses for which it was responsible exhibited as fully as truth and justice would warrant.

Nor is it our purpose to detail here all the instances of religious intolerance occurring in one or other form during the progress of the Know-Nothing movement. That were a tedious and unnecessary task. We shall content ourselves with a brief mention of some of the more deplorable acts of violence committed at that time, and from these our readers may judge what was the general character and tendency of Know-Nothingism.

*The Criminal Acts of the
Know-Nothing Mob*

In a letter given to the writer, dated at Concord, N. H., February 10, 1900, written by the late John C. Linehan, whose father was one of the pioneers of Catholicity in New England, he tells his personal experiences in New Hampshire as follows:

"The Native-American party was the precursor of the Know-Nothing organization. In 1842 and 1844 the first named was the means of starting up riots in Philadelphia resulting in the loss of life and the destruction of property in that city. It extended eastward, electing one of the Harpers Mayor of New York, and from thence to New England, where the name was changed to the other given.

"Two apostate priests, Gavazzi, Italian, and Hogan, Irish, with a crazy North of Ireland fanatic named Orr, nicknamed the 'Angel Gabriel,' had no small share in creating the agitation which was evoked at the time. There was still another priest, Chiniquy, a Canadian, who was a regular firebrand. The Manchester riot took place on July 4, 1855; I think that was the year. It began between some Irish boys who had started to celebrate the 4th at midnight on the 3rd and a crowd of American boys. It needed but a spark — the fire furnished it — and the result was an attack on St. Anne's and on the Irish generally, many of whose homes were wrecked, mainly at the South end.

"The work was all done in the early morn. The windows and doors of the church were smashed and Father McDonald was obliged to seek shelter. I went down to Manchester with my father in the morning to see the Fourth of July celebration. We saw it, but it was not exactly what we expected. The work was all done before we reached there. About thirty years later, on the day Father McDonald was buried, every store and place of business in the city were closed two hours during the funeral services. As to the extent of the damage done, I can not say but those were sore days for such of us as were here."

During the year preceding the Fourth of July celebration above described, the houses of Irish Catholics in Manchester were attacked, the inmates driven out, and even the sick were dragged from their beds. The church then nearly completed was likewise attacked, its windows broken, and some of its furniture destroyed.¹ A church at Lawrence, Mass., had been attacked and at Bath, Me., a mob led by that clerical firebrand known as the "Angel Gabriel" broke into the church and after wrecking the altar and the pulpit they mounted to the steeple and threw down the cross and then set fire to the building, which was reduced to a heap of ashes.² The following year when Bishop Bacon attempted to lay the cornerstone of a new church, he and the assembled congregation were driven off, the preparations for the ceremony were thrown into disorder by the mob, and it had to be postponed to another time.

Manchester had always been a hotbed of anti-Catholic fanaticism, for it is related that in the early forties, when Father Daly went there to say Mass, "as he went up the steps of the temporary altar in the little wooden schoolhouse where he was to say Mass, the floor gave way and he and his people were precipitated into the cellar — the supports of the floor had been cut away. Fortunately no one was hurt."³

About 1857 Father McDonald built a convent to be occupied by the Sisters of Mercy, who were to take charge of his parochial

¹ See "Life of Mother Warde," p. 203.

² De Courcey, "History," etc., p. 522.

³ See "Life of Bishop Bradley," by M. A. D., 1905, p. 46.

school in Manchester. During its construction it had to be guarded every night against threatened attack. One attempt was made to demolish it and a fanatical workman set the building on fire, but this was extinguished before any serious damage had occurred.¹

On July 4, 1854, at Dorchester, Mass., the natives celebrated the day by blowing up the little Catholic church. "A keg of powder was placed on the floor and fired at three o'clock in the morning; the roof was blown off and the east end walls demolished."²

At Chelsea, Mass., the "Angel Gabriel" harangued the crowd in his usual style, exciting them to deeds of violence. They smashed the windows of the Catholic church, tore the cross from the gable, and shivered it to atoms. The firemen and military were called out to aid the police in preserving order.³

At Sydney, in the Cincinnati diocese, another church was blown up by gunpowder. One at Massillon, Ohio, was burned and an attempt made to burn the Ursuline Convent at Galveston, Texas.⁴ St. Mary's Church at Norwalk, Ct., was set on fire⁵ and later its cross was sawed off the spire. A fire was started in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Brooklyn, N. Y., and the building was saved only by the interference of the police, aided by the militia, who drove off the mob. St. Mary's Church at Saugerties, N. Y., was set on fire and nearly destroyed by the fanatics⁶ and an attempt made to burn the church at Palmyra, N. Y.⁷ Among lesser acts of vandalism may be mentioned that occurring at Washington, D. C., where a mob forced their way into the shed near the Washington monument, then in course of construction, and broke to pieces a beautiful block of marble which came from the Temple of

¹ Id. p. 49, and "Life of Mother Warde," p. 204.

² Shea, vol. iv, p. 510.

³ See Von Holst, *supra*, vol. v, p. 57.

⁴ See Shea, *supra*, vol. iv, pp. 543-567-590.

⁵ See Rev. J. H. O'Donnell's "History of Diocese of Hartford," p. 276.

⁶ See Shea, *supra*, vol. iv, p. 107.

⁷ Id. p. 479.

Concord at Rome and had been sent by Pope Pius IX as his tribute to the memory of Washington.¹

*The Nunneries Inspection
in Massachusetts*

When the Know-Nothing party in Massachusetts achieved its great success at the polls in the election in 1854, its leaders very soon showed how it meant to use the political power which had been conferred upon it. Hardly had the Legislature assembled (January 10, 1855) than an order was passed instructing the judiciary committee of the House to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill making all Roman Catholic schools, convents, etc., as open and free to public visitation and inspection as Protestant institutions and establishing a board of commissioners to visit such institutions. This vicious thrust at Roman Catholic convents had not even the merit of originality, for in June 1853, under the inspiration of Orangeism and Exeter Hall Christianity, a "Nunneries Inspection Bill" had been proposed in the British Parliament.

The Massachusetts proposal was referred back and forth between the Senate and House until February 17, 1855, when a Senate order was passed authorizing the joint special committee of both branches to visit and examine "such theological seminaries, boarding schools, academies, nunneries, convents, and other institutions of a like character as they may deem necessary to enable them to make a final report on the subjects committed to their consideration." The committee reported April 24, 1855, but by this time their proceedings had excited such profound indignation and contempt that no report which they might make could have any value. They first visited Holy Cross College. Then they went to the convent at Roxbury in charge of the Sisters of Notre Dame and "ransacked the house from top to bottom treating the Sisters with the greatest indignity, insolence, and even indecency; the rooms of sick pupils were not respected."² A convent at Lowell was similarly "inspected."

¹ See "Boston Journal," cited in "New York Tribune," May 29, 1854.

² Shea, vol. iv, p. 50.

On the committee's official visitation one of the members was accompanied by a degraded woman whom he falsely represented as his wife. So outrageous was the conduct of this particular apostle of the reform of Catholic morals that his comrades in the Legislature deemed it prudent to defer to the universal sentiment of indignation manifested throughout the State, and they expelled him from that body. The investigation collapsed and no further effort seems to have been made to establish a system of State investigation of Catholic convents.

A similar "Nunneries Inspection" petition was presented the following year (1856) in the Maryland House of Delegates and was referred to a committee which unanimously reported that the charges made against the convents were groundless and that the existing laws and the courts were adequate to protect every one against being unlawfully detained.¹

*The Attack on St. Mary's
Church at Newark, N. J.*

In September of this year (1854) a body of these anti-Catholic partisans, re-enforced by Orangemen from the lodges in New York City, held a celebration in the city of Newark, N. J. They walked through its streets with a Bible ostentatiously displayed at the head of the procession, passing by the little St. Mary's Church on High Street. This church had been erected in 1842 for the special use of German Catholics by the Benedictine Father Balleis, who was still its pastor in 1854. The mob invaded the church, broke the windows and some of the statuary and did other damage, and one inoffensive bystander, McCarty, an Irish Catholic, was killed by a pistol shot fired by one of the rioters.² The Know-Nothing press as usual sought by slanderous stories to lay the blame on Irish Catholics, but the investigation which followed established that the attack was absolutely without provocation. The opinion of all fair-minded persons respecting the occur-

¹ Shea, vol. iv, p. 377.

² "The Catholic Church in New Jersey," Rev. J. M. Flynn, pp. 204-205.

rence was expressed in the following comment which appeared in the New York "Tribune," September 8, 1854:¹

THE NEWARK MURDER AND SACRILEGE.

That (St. Mary's) church stands fairly exculpated from all offense, and its devastation is an unprovoked and shameful outrage which reflects great discredit on Newark and belligerent Protestantism. And it is worthy of note that while this is the fifth or sixth Catholic edifice which has been destroyed or devastated by mob violence in our country, there is no instance of record wherein a Protestant house of worship has been ravaged by Catholics.

Need we add that the guilty parties were never brought to justice and the murder went unpunished. "Father Balleis' poor and struggling congregation," says Shea,² "lost fully two thousand dollars by this unprovoked assault, for which no compensation was ever made to them."

Father John Bapst, S.J.

The same year (1854) was marked by an instance of anti-Catholic bigotry of exceptionally

brutal character.

Father John Bapst, S.J., a priest of irreproachable life and character who had been President of Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., was then doing humble work as a missionary among the remnant of the Abnaki Indians in Maine, at the same time attending several stations, one of which was at Ellsworth near Bangor. By order of the school committee the Catholic children attending the public school at that place were compelled to read the Protestant Bible under penalty of expulsion. Against this injustice Father Bapst protested and advised the parents to test the question in the courts, which they resolved to do. Forthwith a town meeting was held (July 8, 1854), and a resolution was adopted and inscribed in the town records declaring in effect that if Father Bapst should ever again set foot on the soil

¹ See "Miscellanea," by Rt. Rev. M. J. Spalding. p. xxiv of introductory address.

² History, etc., vol. iv, p. 503.

of Ellsworth he would be tarred and feathered and ridden on a rail. On a Saturday evening in the following October, Father Bapst was again in Ellsworth preparing for Mass to be celebrated the next day. At about nine o'clock that night and while he was actually hearing confessions, a mob made up of firemen invaded the house, dragged the priest out, stripped him of his clothing, incidentally robbing him of his watch and money, and rode him about the village on a rail. Next they poured melted tar over his bare body and rolled him in feathers, all the while shouting the most indecent and blasphemous taunts at him. After about two hours of this horrible treatment the mob set him free and he returned to the house whence he had been taken. Sick and sore though he was and suffering and exhausted from the ill treatment he had received, he nevertheless said Mass the next day for his little congregation as he had planned to do.

As usual in such cases there was no law to punish a Know-Nothing aggressor when a Catholic and especially a Catholic priest was the aggrieved party. Although the ringleaders were known and a grand jury was in session, no one was indicted or even arrested for the crime. Decent Protestants everywhere expressed their horror at the outrage and those living in Bangor showed their esteem for Father Bapst by subscribing money for a gold watch to replace the one of which he had been robbed by the Ellsworth Know-Nothing firemen.¹

*"Bloody Monday" in
Cincinnati*

One of the most deplorable manifestations of Know-Nothingism was that which occurred at Louisville, Ky., on election day, August 5, 1855, since known as "Bloody Monday." Encouraged by its success elsewhere, the American party was endeavoring to extend its influence in various of the Southern States and its campaign in Kentucky had been conducted with great bitterness, especially in the city of Louisville, where the population included many Irish and German Catholics. The organ of the American party, the

¹ See Shea, *supra*, vol. iv, p. 537. De Courcey, *The Catholic Church*, pp. 524-525.

"*Courier Journal*," had poured out its abuse upon these "foreigners," and was unmistakably exciting its followers to bloodshed in the event of the slightest provocation or opportunity. The political harangues delivered by the American orators were, if possible, still more offensive and insulting, and one newspaper account tells of letters written by Know-Nothings and placed under the doors of houses occupied by Germans threatening them that if they came to the polls it would be at the risk of their lives.¹ The newspapers of the opposing parties apprehended a disturbance and urged the leaders on both sides to come to some understanding with a view to preserve the public peace at the approaching election, and an additional force of police was sworn in to prevent disorder at the polls.

Early on election day some Americans traveling in a carriage were wounded by shots which, they reported, had come from a house occupied by Germans. A mob made up from the American party attacked the house, sacked it, dragged the inmates out and beat them unmercifully. They then proceeded to other houses occupied by Germans, riddled them with bullets, and sacked them. Some Irishmen were encountered and were attacked and beaten.

Toward evening the most serious rioting occurred. There were numerous encounters on the streets and at the polls between the Americans and parties of Irishmen and of Germans. According to the newspaper accounts of the time, a number of Americans were killed by shots discharged from the windows of houses occupied by Germans and from other houses occupied by Irish residents. A mob of Americans retaliated by attacking these houses and in two instances Irishmen were captured by the mob and hung on the neighboring lampposts but were cut down by the policemen while yet alive. A brewery and various cooper-shops were burned. One Irishman was beaten so badly that he died the next day. A row of houses owned by a Catholic Irishman named Quinn and occupied entirely by Irish tenants was set on fire. Several of the inmates perished in the flames; others were shot dead as they fled from their burning

¹ See "*New York Staats-Zeitung*," Aug. 8, 1855.

dwellings. Quinn himself, and a Catholic woman, neither of whom had given any offence, were among the victims who met death in this way. During the day the rumor spread that the cathedral was stacked with arms and the mob moved forward to attack it. They were deterred from this by the mayor, himself a Know-Nothing, and a search was made by him and some of the councilmen and a public statement issued over their signatures denying the report that there were any arms in the cathedral. As a measure of precaution Bishop Spalding delivered the keys of the cathedral to the mayor and left the responsibility on him of safeguarding that building.

The rioting was kept up far into the night and a hostile demonstration was made against "The Times," which had taken the side of the opponents of the American party.

In all, two or three blocks of houses were burned and at least twenty citizens were killed outright, some of them Americans, others, Irish and Germans, not to speak of those who were wounded or beaten. Charges were made against Bishop Spalding and his clergy, that they had organized Catholics for the purpose of doing violence at the polls to the American voters and thereby defeating them. In a card published by the Bishop he demonstrated the absolute falsity of this charge. The excitement continued all next day and many Catholic families left the city rather than incur the risk of further violence at the hands of the mob.

Speaking of the events of that time, Bishop Spalding wrote to Bishop Kenrick: "We have just passed through a reign of terror surpassed only by the Philadelphia riots. Nearly 100 poor Irish have been butchered or burned and some twenty houses have been consumed in the flames. The city authorities, all Know-Nothings, looked calmly on and they are now endeavoring to lay the blame on the Catholics."¹ And a non-Catholic author wrote: "These were days of something like Protestant fanaticism. Cathedrals had to be barricaded on

¹ See "Life of Archbishop Spalding," by Bishop J. L. Spalding, p. 185. Shea, vol. iv, pp. 562-3. "New York Herald," August 7, 8, 9, 10, 1855.

election day and the militia called on to keep the excited mob, which had robbed a church of its gilded spire, from proceeding to fire and pillage.¹

*Anti-Catholic and Anti-Irish
Legislation*

While the lower ranks of the Know-Nothing Party were engaged in this lawless work their leaders kept up the agitation in other ways. In Massachusetts and Connecticut acts were passed disbanding the various volunteer militia companies composed chiefly of Irish Catholics which had existed for many years if not with advantage, at least without detriment to the community. In New York and Ohio the legislatures were induced to pass laws affecting the ownership of church property with a view to withdraw the control of property of the Catholic Church from the bishops, who then in most cases held the title, and to vest the same in trustees, and a bitter controversy was carried on in the newspapers of New York over the Church Property Bill between Archbishop Hughes and Senator Erastus Brooks. In other States efforts were made to obtain similar legislation.

In Congress in 1853 a debate arose over a bill which had been introduced permitting citizens as well as residents not yet naturalized but who had already declared their intention of becoming citizens, to take up a quarter section of the public lands for homestead purposes. Various amendments were proposed, among them one which would exclude all persons thereafter arriving from a foreign country from the privileges of the act even though they might declare their intentions of acquiring citizenship, and expressly confining those privileges to persons then actually admitted to citizenship. This amendment was directly in line with the growing Know-Nothing sentiment. It was favored by a considerable number of Senators including Henry Clay and was opposed by (among others) William H. Seward, afterward Governor of New York. In the course of the debate Senator Seward denounced the amendment as being an expression of Native-American hostility to for-

¹ See Schouler, *supra*, vol. v, p. 305.

eigners and he took occasion to expose the real platform and principles of the Know-Nothing Party quoting from its organ the "American Crusader," published at Boston. Among the phrases to be found in this platform indicating the designs of that party were: "War to the hilt on Romanism," "none but Americans for office," "hostility to all papal influences," and "repeal all naturalization laws."¹

On various occasions the Know-Nothing agitation was forced upon the attention of Congress. In 1853 certain Baptists, subjects of the Protestant Government of Prussia, considered that the laws of that kingdom relating to public religious worship had been applied too rigorously against them and at their instance the Baptist Union of Maryland presented a memorial asking that our Government interfere to obtain a relaxation of those laws. In the case known as that of the Madiai family at Florence, some of its members who were subjects of the Grand Duke of Tuscany had been lawfully arrested, tried, and sentenced to banishment for violation of the law forbidding the establishment of domestic conventicles for the purpose of proselytizing the subjects of the Grand Duke. This incident had already been exploited in London by the anti-Catholic patrons of Exeter Hall and in due time was taken up by certain clergymen and other citizens of New York who sympathized with the Native-American movement, and under their auspices a mass meeting was held in that city. At this meeting the speakers denounced the Pope, the Church, the Grand Duke, and Roman Catholics both here and abroad as well as European nations generally for their supposed intolerance in matters of religion, and a petition was prepared and later was presented to the Senate asking the Government to interfere so as to secure "freedom of conscience" in the Grand Duke's dominions.

Any intervention such as was requested in these cases could have been regarded by the foreign Governments concerned only as an impertinent meddling with their administration of law

¹ See "Republican Landmarks," pp. 199-200. *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxviii, Part 2, p. 944.

in their respective territories. Indeed, our minister to Berlin, Mr. Barnard, had already been politely repulsed when he, unofficially, brought the Baptist grievance to the attention of the Prussian officials. No official action was taken by our Government. Nevertheless, the purpose of the Know-Nothing leaders was served by having the matter discussed openly in the Senate. The speeches of General Cass, Senator from Michigan, the spokesman for the petitions, induced Archbishop Hughes to write several letters in reply which were published at the time (1854).¹

*The Attacks Made on
Archbishop Bedini*

No record of the activities of Know-Nothingism would be complete without reference to the incidents attending the visit of Archbishop Bedini to this country. That prelate had been appointed Apostolic Nuncio to the Court of Brazil. Incidentally, he had been commissioned to examine into various ecclesiastical matters in the United States. He arrived at New York in June, 1853. As this was the first time a representative of the Holy See of such rank had visited this country the Holy Father, Pius IX, had entrusted him with an autograph letter to the President, Franklin Pierce, expressing the good wishes of the pontiff toward our country and its chief executive. The high character and standing of the Archbishop and his intention of visiting the United States had already been officially reported to the Secretary of State, Edward Everett, by our Chargé d'Affaires, Lewis Cass, then stationed in Rome; and when the archbishop arrived he was received courteously by the President, to whom he presented the letter as instructed by the Holy Father.²

Unfortunately for the peace and comfort of the archbishop, there was in New York at the time of his arrival a colony of Italians, most of whom had left Italy to escape the consequences

¹ See Kehoe's "Life and Works of Archbishop Hughes," vol. II, p. 476, et seq.

² See the text of this letter in "U. S. Catholic Hist. Records and Studies," vol. III, p. 151.

of their participation in the revolutionary movement of 1848-9. Their number was increased during the summer by the arrival of about eighty others, who were admitted here as political refugees, but among these were many who were discovered afterward to have escaped from Italy after sentence of transportation for various crimes.¹ Early in that year the ex-Barnabite monk Alessandro Gavazzi had fled from Italy, where he had been "preaching war against priests, princes, and property," and had taken an active and disgraceful part in the bloody events of the Revolution.² After a short stay in England among his exiled compatriots, members of the Italian Carbonari, he went to Canada where he began a series of vituperative attacks on the Pope and the Church. At Quebec and Montreal his harangues provoked rioting and bloodshed. The United States, however, with its anti-Catholic movement then in progress, offered a more inviting field, and he came here. At Baltimore, where his incendiary reputation had preceded him, he was unable to secure a hall for a public meeting; but his fellow countrymen in New York welcomed him and he and they became useful allies in the Know-Nothing cause.

Archbishop Bedini was the special object of their attack and, says De Courcey³: "The Italian apostates soon found an echo in fanaticism, and the most virulent enemies of the Papacy soon filled the press, the pulpit, and the rostrum with infamous attacks on the mild and pious prelate who was held up to the fury of the masses as 'the Roman hyena.' For several months

¹ See De Courcey, "History," etc., p. 510.

² See O'Clery's "History of the Italian Revolution," p. 262. After Gavazzi's usefulness as an agitator here had ended, he returned to Italy where he aided Garibaldi in the work of inciting the people to revolution. Speaking of the revolutionists participating in the expedition against the kingdom of Naples, Forbes, who accompanied the expedition, wrote (see "Campaign of Garibaldi," pp. 130, 131): "On the deck of the *Aberdeen* there was a motley group of priests, correspondents, and ladies, all armed to the teeth and eager for business. There was Padre Gavazzi as usual, with an immense crucifix in his waist belt supported on either side by a revolver, ready to administer death or absolution as circumstances might require."

³ *Supra*, p. 509.

Gavazzi dogged every step of Archbishop Bedini like his shadow; he followed the nuncio to every city, and there the ex-monk endeavored to create scandal and irritate the crowd by vomiting torrents of calumny in public discourses on the venerable object of his hatred."

The charges made against Bedini related to political events occurring in Italy under the Austrian occupation of the Papal States during the period of the Revolution, and it fairly appears from the proofs which De Courcey took the trouble to collect and to insert as an Appendix to his History, that the archbishop was not chargeable with any responsibility in the matter. Nevertheless Gavazzi went from place to place repeating these charges and seeking to inflame those who listened to him against the Church and especially against the archbishop.

<p><i>Anti-Catholic Street Preaching</i></p>
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In New England especially, where there were but few if any Italians, his audiences were

made up of the Know-Nothing rabble. Co-operating with Gavazzi were the "Angel Gabriel," who was accustomed to gather his audience together by blowing a trumpet just before beginning his address, another turbulent character named Porter, and a contingent of clerical exhorters of the neighborhood. The likelihood of disorder occurring at the meetings arranged by these worthies made it difficult for them to procure halls to which their followers would be admitted, and in consequence the meetings were held outdoors in vacant lots or public squares or, as in New York City, on the steps of the City Hall, and generally on Sundays. Of the general character of the addresses delivered at these meetings, it need only be said that they were of the standard Know-Nothing type, dishonest in their statements of the teaching of the Church, slanderous in their representation of the lives and character of Catholics, and especially insulting to Irish Catholics, and calculated to inflame the minds of their hearers against the Church and to provoke them to acts of violence against their fellow citizens who were members of that Church. At one of these meetings held in Brooklyn the

"Angel Gabriel" is reported to have delivered a "fierce invective against the infernal Jesuit systems and accursed popery."¹ At another held in one of the shipyards on the east side of New York, reported as "Parsons' Demonstration" (Parsons being one of the agitators),² one of the speakers, a Scotchman, referred to the Pope as "an infernal villain." Another of the speakers produced a Catholic prayer-book, "The Garden of the Soul," having the imprimatur of Archbishop Hughes, and read from it the Examination of Conscience to show his audience the wickedness of which Catholics were capable.

It would be strange indeed, if Catholics, goaded by these insults, did not resent them, and in New York, Brooklyn, and Jersey City, there were frequent encounters in the streets between the Irish and the bands of Know-Nothings who assembled both as audience and as a guard for the preachers who delivered these incendiary addresses. Sometimes there was shooting and bloodshed and the firemen and military had to be called out to assist the police in restoring order. It seems not to have occurred to the guardians of the law in those days that the utterances of the speakers at these meetings were a direct and deliberate incitement to riot and disorder, which would have justified the authorities in prohibiting such meetings as they might have prohibited any other unlawful assemblage.

So menacing had become the attitude of Know-Nothingism in consequence of this reckless street-preaching, that Archbishop Hughes found himself compelled to take official notice of it and to warn his people against the consequences which might ensue. In a circular letter published December 15, 1853, after referring to that subject he said: "I do not wish you to understand, dearly beloved brethren, that you should degrade yourselves one iota below the highest grade of American citizenship. If there be, as it has been insinuated, a conspiracy against the civil and religious rights which are secured to you by our constitution and laws, defeat the purpose of that conspiracy by a peaceful and entirely legal deportment in all the relations of life. But,

¹ See "New York Times," June 12, 1853.

² See "New York Herald," December 25, 1853.

on the other hand, should such a conspiracy arise, unrebuked by the public authorities, to a point really menacing with destruction any portion of your property whether your private dwellings, your churches, your hospitals, orphan asylums, or other Catholic institutions, then, in case of attack, let every man be prepared, in God's name, to stand by the laws of the country, and the authorities of the city, in defence of such rights and property. It is hardly to be supposed that such a contingency, under our free and equal laws, can possibly arise. Nevertheless, symptoms of so baneful a purpose are not by any means wanting. The consequences, in so populous and wealthy a city as New York, of a collision between parties, having for its basis or stimulant the spite of religious hatred, whether in the attack or in the defence, would be inconceivably disastrous. You, dearly beloved brethren, will be careful to avoid even the appearance of offence in regard to measures that might lead to such a result. But if, in spite of your forbearance, it should come, then it will be lawful for you to prove yourselves worthy of the rights of citizenship with which you are invested, by a noble defence of your own property, as the same is declared by the laws of your country."¹

Plots to Assassinate Archbishop Bedini

But the hatred of Bedini entertained by the Italian revolutionists in New York was not to be satisfied by mere denunciation and public abuse, and they planned that he should be assassinated on the street as he was leaving the archbishop's house, his residence while in that city. One of the conspirators, Sassi, more merciful than his fellows, came to Bedini and divulged the plot, declaring at the same time that if the fact of his visit became known to his companions he would pay the penalty with his own life. A few nights later Sassi's fears were realized, for he was found in a public street in the lower part of the city, mortally wounded by stabbing done by some of the desperadoes who had intended a like death

¹ See Kehoe, "Life and Works of Archbishop Hughes," vol. II, p. 721.

for Bedini.¹ During his stay in this country, which lasted until May 1854, Archbishop Bedini visited the most important cities and officiated at many public religious ceremonies, and everywhere it seemed that his presence was the signal for the assembling of the Know-Nothing mob. Boston, Baltimore, Wheeling, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Cincinnati witnessed scenes of disorder, rioting, and in some cases bloodshed, provoked by the Know-Nothing speakers, both lay and clerical, and by the anti-Catholic press. In several cities, including New York, bodies of armed men kept watch day and night within or near their churches and cathedrals prepared to resist the threatened attempts of the Know-Nothings to attack and burn them.

The most impudent attack on religion, involving as it did an attempt on the life of Archbishop Bedini, was that which occurred at Cincinnati in December 1853. Here many of the German revolutionary exiles had made their home and had attached themselves to the "German Society of Freemen." This was nothing else than a society organized for the purpose of promoting revolution in Europe and of concentrating and directing to that end the political power possessed by the Germans as citizens of the United States. On Christmas day Archbishop Bedini was in Cincinnati and officiated with Archbishop Purcell at the ceremonies in his cathedral. For some days before, a German newspaper, the "*Hochwaechter*," the organ of the "Free Germans," had advertised the archbishop's coming and had denounced him in terms of unmeasured violence, saying: "Bedini goes about seeking whom he may devour. He thinks but of murder—the murder of minds and ideas. He is not our guest; he is a thief, he is a beast of prey, plotting the destruction of the peace of the country. Whoever offers him hospitality in America is an enemy of liberty. Such is Bedini. Is there no ball, no dagger, for a monster never equaled on earth?"² These savage incitements to murder were allowed to go unchecked by the civil authorities, and the "Free Germans" planned an attack

¹ See "Records and Studies," vol. III, p. 159.

² Quoted from De Courcey, *supra*, p. 515.

on the cathedral to take place on Christmas night; that they intended likewise to do violence to Bedini there can be no doubt. That night at 11 o'clock they came 600 strong (one account says there were 1000 of them), marching toward the residence where Archbishop Bedini was staying. They were "armed with clubs, swords, knives, and pistols and carrying torches with which they meant to set fire to the cathedral and ropes with which they intended to hang the Nuncio."¹ The police had been apprised of the criminal purpose of this demonstration and as the rioters approached the cathedral shouting and uttering insulting cries and threats, a force of 100 police rushed on them, broke up the procession, and arrested some fifty of the rioters; the rest fled. During the encounter shots were fired and a number of persons fell wounded. The activity of the police on this occasion was somewhat in contrast with the apathy exhibited on similar occasions in other places by the officials charged with the maintenance of order. As a sequel, however, De Courcey tells us:² "But the Germans soon succeeded in awakening to a certain point the ever active Protestant fanaticism by representing themselves as victims and their defeat as a triumph of Popery. The rioters were accordingly enlarged and the policemen guilty of having done their duty were arrested or broken." Thus sharply admonished, the police attempted no interference when, a few days later, the mob reassembled and hung the archbishop in effigy in a public street.

The extraordinary license which had been permitted to the mob throughout the country and, not less, the steady stream of anti-Catholic street preaching before referred to, had maintained the Know-Nothing excitement in New York at a high pitch, so that when Archbishop Bedini returned there preparatory to his departure from this country the authorities feared a riot, and to allay the excitement he kept in retirement. Archbishop Hughes was then absent from the United States. The Italian conspirators who were advised of Bedini's movements

¹ See account in Cincinnati "Unionist" copied in "New York Herald," December 30, 1853.

² History, etc., *supra*, p. 516.

kept watch for him and haunted the docks from which the steamers sailed intending doubtless to carry out their purpose of assassination. The Collector of the Port was asked to permit the archbishop to be carried on the revenue tug to the steamer, but this courtesy was refused and Bedini, justly apprehensive of personal violence, left the city on a private tugboat to meet the outgoing steamer at Staten Island, which carried him away from our hospitable shores.¹

The Collapse of Know-Nothingism as a Political Movement

We have noted how the Know-Nothing movement practically ended with the election

in 1856. Some of its adherents had already withdrawn themselves and had helped to swell the ranks of the victorious Democrats who had elected Buchanan. Others again found their way into the newly-formed and rapidly growing Republican Party, which was destined to play so large a part in the politics of the succeeding years. During the period of Buchanan's administration the controversy over the Slavery question was becoming every day more bitter. At the North and especially in New England the total abolition of slavery was vigorously advocated, while in the South the right by the States to secede from the Union was everywhere asserted and preparations made for such a step by various of the State Legislatures in case, as the Southern leaders anticipated, the issue of the next presidential election should give the Republican or Abolition Party the control of the Government. In the face of these tremendous issues Know-Nothingism was almost forgotten. Nevertheless, each of the two great parties at their national conventions held in 1860 inserted a plank in their respective platforms recognizing the right of naturalized citizens to full protection in all their rights equally with native-born citizens, thus disclaiming any sympathy with the Native-American movement. That same year a third party, known as the "Constitutional Union," held its convention and presented its

¹ See Letter to Archbishop Hughes in "New York Herald," May 21, 1854.

candidates (Bell and Everett), who received thirty-nine electoral votes. The support of these candidates came largely from a remnant of the Know-Nothing element which had declined to affiliate with either of the two great parties. It was the expiring gasp of Native-Americanism considered as a political movement.

With the outbreak of the Civil War came the time when American citizens of foreign birth and professing the Roman Catholic faith were to give an overwhelming demonstration of their loyalty to the country of their adoption. When troops were called for by President Lincoln, Roman Catholics of various nationalities responded as promptly and in as large numbers proportionately as the members of any other religious body. But exceptionally prominent was the quick and hearty response of the Irish-born Roman Catholics, who came forward not merely in twos and threes but in full regiments and brigades composed almost exclusively of men of that race and faith. These "foreigners" and "Romanists" who, but a few years before, were declared by Know-Nothing orators unworthy to be trusted with citizenship, were among the first to rally to the defence of the Flag and throughout the long struggle the services rendered by them were everywhere recognized and applauded. The official records show that about 150,000 men of Irish birth were enlisted in the various Union armies during the War, to which it is fair to add at least as many more native-born sons of Irish emigrants whose race origin does not appear in military records. New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and perhaps other States contributed their Irish regiments and their Irish Brigades whose members were mostly Roman Catholic. Some of these regiments were recruited several times over during the War. Many of the most gallant and capable commanders were of the same race and faith, and the heroic achievements of these Irish and Catholic soldiers — their hardships and sufferings cheerfully undergone and the lamented deaths of so many thousands of them either on the field of battle or in the hospitals — furnished a most effective refutation, if any were needed, of the calumnies which had been uttered against them by unscrupulous Know-Nothing partisans.

The Sources of Know-Nothing Sentiment

To Catholics of the present day it must seem almost incredible that, hardly more than fifty years ago, their co-religionists were made to suffer such wrongs and injustices as are set forth in these pages. The Catholics of that period were entitled as matter of right to practise their religion as freely as are we in these times. Freedom of religion as then constitutionally guaranteed has not since been in any way enlarged, and it was then a right inherent in every inhabitant equally with the right to liberty and to be secure in the possession of one's property. And yet the victims of Know-Nothingism suffered the violation of every one of these rights. To what cause are we to describe this anomalous condition? Mainly, we think, to a deep-seated and malignant prejudice against the Church and against the race which furnished the greater number of the adherents of that Church. That prejudice, which inspired the English Penal laws, was transmitted to the Colonies, where with only slight exception it was accepted and incorporated as an element of State policy. It continued during the entire Colonial era and when the provision for freedom of worship was inserted in the Federal Constitution this resulted not from any yielding of this prejudice against Catholics, who were then comparatively few in numbers, but from a well-grounded apprehension on the part of both the Puritans and the followers of the Church of England that without the protection of such a clause the party gaining the balance of power in the new and untried government would attempt to impose its religion on the whole country. The loss of their political power by the Federalists, who had done most to cultivate this prejudice, did not soften their animosity toward Catholics and thus it was that this prejudice remained to become the inspiration of the various Native-American and Know-Nothing movements.

Regarding the character of those who sustained the Native-American movement we may safely adopt the judgment of the distinguished Bishop J. L. Spalding, who declared them to be "the depraved portion of our native population." He said:

"It was not the American people who were seeking to make war on the Church but merely a party of religious fanatics and unprincipled demagogues who as little represented the American people as did the mobs whom they incited to bloodshed and incendiarism. Their whole conduct was un-American and opposed to all the principles and traditions of our free institutions."¹

Brownson spoke of their prejudices as "contemptible": "The Native-American Party," said he, "is not a party against admitting foreigners to the rights of citizenship, but simply against admitting a certain class of foreigners. It does not oppose Protestant Germans, Protestant Englishmen, Protestant Scotchmen, not even Protestant Irishmen. It is really opposed only to Catholic foreigners. The party is truly an anti-Catholic party, and is opposed chiefly to the Irish, because a majority of the emigrants to this country are probably from Ireland, and the greater part of these are Catholics."²

Those who sought to find excuses for Native-Americanism as a political movement have urged that the great influx of Irish emigrants following the famine of 1847 threatened a competition between Irish and native American labor tending to a reduction of wages and the consequent disadvantage of the American workman. But this objection could not apply to the periods anterior to 1834 and 1844 when Native-Americanism gave such shocking manifestations of its true character. The percentage of Catholic Irish in the population at those times was too small to admit any such excuse. Moreover, that objection was at all times a fanciful one, for the reason that only a small percentage of those immigrants were qualified as artisans or mechanics and the American workman was generally content to let the immigrant have a monopoly of the hard labor involved in the building of railroads and turnpikes, the digging of canals, and other severe and exhausting occupations.

Again, political leaders, anxious to retain their control over the elections, objected that the Irish immigrants on becoming

¹ See "Life of Archbishop M. J. Spalding," p. 174.

² See "Essays and Reviews," p. 428.

citizens habitually cast their votes against the candidates of the Native-American Party and that this indicated a want of sympathy with the principles upon which our Government was founded. But we have shown how these self-styled patriots and their predecessors, the Federalists, were the constant and relentless foes of the Irish and of Catholics generally and it was unreasonable to expect that the immigrants would take sides with the party which was constantly seeking to proscribe them and their religion. Do men generally rush into the arms of their enemies? And did not the Native-American politicians overrate themselves in assuming to be the only guardians of the liberties of the Republic? That the confidence of the Irish in their political leaders was sometimes abused and their votes cast for candidates who proved unworthy, is undoubtedly true and may be conceded without in anywise justifying the principles, still less the practices, of such a party as the Native-Americans showed themselves to be. But, on the other hand, that the Irish Catholics as a class were honest, industrious, and law-abiding citizens was demonstrated in every community where they were gathered. That they sometimes fell under the sway of designing politicians who made use of their votes for selfish and unworthy purposes was not more true in their case than in that of other bodies of political partisans, whether foreign or native born, and in any event constituted no excuse for the unlawful treatment meted out to them. In a word the Native-Americanism whose origin and history we have endeavored to present in these pages, had no reason for its existence considered, if that be possible, as a purely political movement, while in its aspect as a society for the proscription of Roman Catholics its very purpose was reprehensible and unlawful and its career, as shown by the unquestioned facts which we have pointed out, was a blot upon the pages of American history.

PERSONAL LETTERS OF REV. P. J. DE SMET, S.J.,
NOW PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME

TRANSLATED BY JOHN E. CAHALAN, A.M.

(Continued)

A.M.D.G.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Feb. 24, 1858.

MADAME S. PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, near New York.

MADAME:

I have just completed a trip of over eight hundred miles, going and coming amidst ice and snow, over the most wretched roads, and in conveyances that but added to the misery.

On my return to St. Louis, your kind letter of the 5th inst., with your charitable gift, was handed to me. Please accept my very humble thanks, together with the expression of my sincere gratitude. The vestment which you have been so kind as to offer me, might be forwarded by express. I will pass it over to the Flathead Mission, which is extremely poor in ecclesiastical vestments. As soon as Spring opens I shall be able, I trust, to find an opportunity of forwarding it by one of the boats of the Fur-Trading Company.

The sea plants which Miss Rosine had the kindness to prepare will certainly be very acceptable to the Reverend Fathers B... and H... of the colleges at Namur and Antwerp, and they will be highly valued, I am sure, among the collections of those two institutions. Once again, Madame and Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine, receive my sincere thanks for the benefactions which you have just added to the long list of so many others conferred during many years, and for which we have but our poor prayers to offer you in return. These we

shall never fail to offer to Our Lord for the happiness of your family, and I shall remind all my good Indians to continue praying for their good mothers and generous patronesses.

The trip which I have mentioned above, was undertaken with a faint hope of finding the body of our dear brother in Christ, the Reverend Father Duerinck.

Several days after the unfortunate accident, a captain of a steamboat had noticed a dead body lying on the shore, near the place of the shipwreck; and he had caused it to be buried. On hearing this news I started to examine this lonely grave on the banks of the Missouri, in the neighborhood of the city of Liberty.

The unfortunate victim proved not to be the brother and dear friend that I sought. His attire indicated that he had been a sailor attached to some one of the river boats. Our prayers have not yet been answered; still we hope that with the intercession of the great St. Anthony, besought by so many devout souls (in whose supplications I beg you to join), we may obtain this last consolation, the finding of the remains of the Reverend Father Duerinck, in order to place them in consecrated ground, beside his brethren who have gone before him.

From the city of Liberty I went to St. Mary's, in order to settle some Mission affairs. I had established this Mission to the Pottowatomies in 1838. My heart seemed to expand among these dear children of the plains where formerly I had experienced so much consolation in the exercise of the priestly calling.

I had the happiness to see a large number of Indians approach the Holy Table with deep devotion, and from the altar I addressed them some words of sympathy, encouraging them to keep in the way of the divine Shepherd.

This encouragement was never more necessary than it is to-day. The white people are surrounding them on all sides, and before long they will hem them in still closer upon their small reservations or portions of land which the Government has allotted them.

I know, Madame, that you are deeply interested in the wel-

fare of the wretched Indians. Permit me, then, to dwell for a while on this subject, on the lot of the Indians in general and particularly in relation to the Indians at St. Mary's among the Pottowatomies. I will add a few words on the great loss which the Mission has sustained in the death of the Superior, Reverend Father J. B. Duerinck.

When I first arrived among the Pottowatomies in 1838, the nation numbered more than four thousand souls. It is at present reduced to three thousand, of whom two thousand are Catholics. All the neighboring tribes have decreased in the same proportion. To what must we attribute this rapid disappearance of the Indian race? That is one of the mysteries of Providence which all the wisdom of the philosopher has vainly tried to penetrate. The immoderate use of intoxicating liquor, the change of climate and of food, the vice, the frightful diseases which intercourse with the white man has produced among the savages, the want of thrift and forethought do not, it strikes me, fully supply an answer to this important question. How does it happen, we may ask, that the redskin yields so little to the ways and practices of the European race? And again, how does it happen that the European race not only persists in refusing its sympathy to the redskin, but, in spite of its pretended philanthropy, seems rather inclined to annihilate than to civilize these poor children of nature?

Whence comes this irrepressible antagonism between the two races? How does it happen that the stronger one follows up the weaker one with so much bitterness and gives it no rest until it is completely prostrate? Perhaps that is a mystery which the Supreme Judge alone could explain.

When I consider the lot of so many Indian nations which formerly held immense lands, and which are now in great danger of being entirely dispossessed by another people, I am forcibly reminded of the first inhabitants of Palestine who, similarly masters of the finest lands in the world, beheld themselves despoiled by a severe but most proper decision of the Creator, whose warnings they had despised and whose glory they had profaned. Like the people of Canaan, the savage

tribes in general have been punished little by little; and perhaps, like them, they have been too long deaf to the divine voice which called upon them to give up their errors and to embrace the truth. Who has ever penetrated the designs of eternal Wisdom? Who can impute injustice to the Almighty? May not God, to whom the universe belongs by the right of creation, dispose of His property according to His own good will? But in illustrating His justice, He does not forget His mercy. He never strikes here below except to heal. His divine heart is always open even to him whose crimes He punishes.

I have been brought to these thoughts by the change which has come about in the condition of the Indians.

During the past few years, under the administration of President Pierce, all the broad Indian territory at this side of the Rocky Mountains, embraced in the jurisdiction of Mgr. Miège, except a small section toward the south, has been organized into two territories known under the names of Kansas and Nebraska; that is to say, the American Congress has decreed that this country is joined to the Union, and open to the white people who may desire to settle there, in order to form, after a certain length of time, two States similar in every respect to the other States of the great Republic. Although for the present the new settlers have been directed to respect the lands reserved to the Indians, one may nevertheless say that this decree has virtually put an end to all the Indian nationalities.

Hardly was it known when emigrants, like the waters of a great flood which have finally burst their banks, rushed headlong across the boundary and overwhelmed the country. Now the Indians are completely surrounded by white people, and their reservations are but as so many small islands in the midst of an ocean.

The Indians, who previously possessed broad lands for hunting, are now huddled together within narrow bounds, compelled to live entirely on the product of their land, which few of them know how to cultivate. Even this situation is far from secure. Unless they hasten to divide up their lands and to become citizens, they are in danger of losing everything, and of becom-

ing outcasts for the future. What immense difficulties beset such a change! How menacing the future with storm and tempest for these unfortunate tribes! In our opinion it is a great misfortune, but one that must be dealt with since it can not be avoided. Even the most civilized among the Indians seem to us but little fit to meet all the demands of their situation.

In order to give you a fair idea of their perilous condition and of the sad consequences which are bound to follow, unless Divine Providence intervene in their favor, imagine the coming together of two communities, one representing the ways and customs of barbarous times, the other representing all the advantage of modern civilization. How many years will pass before there is complete amalgamation of the two societies, before they become united, before they live in perfect concord? A long time will be needed before the uncultivated society will reach the height of civilization. Neither the first nor the second nor the third generation, in spite of all their efforts, will reach this desirable result, as it is regarded in our day. Before perfect union is secured between the two societies, the civilized one will have dominated the other, will have it at its mercy, to compel it to subserve all its schemes, so that the uncivilized society will no longer have any standing; on the contrary it will lose its privileges and its rights, and will be reduced to the condition of a mere plaything in the hands of the civilized society. In a word, barbarism can not maintain itself in the presence of civilization any more than the simplicity of youth can strive against the cunning of ripe old age. Behold what in my judgment is going to take place in the great wilderness when the red people will have mingled with the whites. The Indian has not the capacity to measure strength with the sagacity of the man born in the bosom of civilization. This is what fills us with uneasiness in regard to the future of our beloved neophytes in the different missions. Our only confidence is in the Divine goodness, which we trust will not fail to come to the assistance of our children.

It was not difficult to foresee this great event which is bound to involve in general disaster all the Indian tribes. The

storm which has burst upon their heads was gathering for years; and it could not escape the attention of the ordinary observer.

The American Republic was seen to progress with the speed of the eagle toward the fullness of power. Each year it annexed new territory. It thought of nothing but of spreading its dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in order to grasp the commerce of the whole world and to compete with the other great nations for the glory of supremacy. Its object is accomplished. Everything has bowed to its scepter. All the Indian nations are at its feet.

It is far from our intention, however, to charge the great Republic with injustice and inhumanity toward the Indians. Judging by its latest treaties, it seems to us, on the contrary, that no nation has afforded the Indian a better opportunity for civilization.

If there be any one to blame on this point, it is rather certain individuals, the new settlers, whose proceedings run counter to the good intentions of the Government toward the Indians.

But if the future seems dark and forbidding, the past at least has afforded consolation to the missionaries. In the space of the last ten years our Fathers at St. Mary's have baptized over four hundred adults and many children. The word of the Gospel did not fall on barren soil. Most of these neophytes have always given evidence of a lively faith and a gentle devotion. The heart of the missionary is filled with great joy on beholding their attendance at church, their ardor in approaching the sacraments, their patience when sick, their mutual kindness; but above all their kindness toward the poor, the orphans, or the sick; and their zeal for the conversion of the infidel. They are called savages, but one can boldly say that thousands of white people in our great cities and all over, are more deserving of that designation. A great many among the Pottowatomies have made considerable progress in agriculture, and they live in more or less comfort. The white people who come their way and visit the small reservation of the Pottowatomies, especially in the neighborhood of St. Mary's

Mission, are agreeably surprised and can hardly believe that they are among Indians.

It must be admitted that the Pottowatomies have been particularly favored by Heaven. For over a quarter of a century they have been fortunate in having the Black-robos among them, and for sixteen or seventeen years they have had the Ladies of the Sacred Heart for the education of their young girls. The Mission as it stands to-day with two schools for girls and boys, offers a twofold advantage. The children come there to acquire with religious instruction the love of labor. The grown people secure employment and in that way the means of subsistence. They see by the work of our Brothers what a man may acquire by his industry.

It may well be said that Providence has treated the Pottowatomies with exceptional favor. By the Divine will many nations have been engaged in working for the salvation of the Pottowatomies. Belgium, Holland, France, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Canada, the United States — each of these countries has done its share through the personal exertions of its natives or by material aid. For four years Mgr. Miège, S.J., has dwelt among them, and thus their log-cabin church has been raised to the dignity of a cathedral. And now, at this most critical moment, when they are about to make a final treaty with the Government of the United States — a treaty of life or death for this poor tribe — they have in the person of the Government Agent, Colonel Murphy, a lawyer, a protector, and the kindest of fathers. These are the circumstances which lead me to hope, Madame, that the Almighty has special designs of mercy for them, and that He will not forsake them in their time of danger. You will not forget them, I am confident, in your pious prayers.

The Reverend Father J. B. Duerinck, S.J., whom we all, particularly the poor Indians, lament so bitterly, came to St. Mary's Mission, in the beginning of November 1849, under the most adverse circumstances, according to the best judgment of men of business. The Mission had just undertaken a boys' school and a girls' school under conditions so burdensome as

to be plainly unbearable. They had pledged themselves to nothing less than the annual maintenance of about one hundred and twenty children as boarders, for the modest sum of \$50.00 each. That is to say, that, at the price of about twelve cents each per day, it was necessary to provide a child with a home, food, clothes, books, paper, etc., while not a single boarding-house in the neighborhood would accept anybody under \$5.00 per week. Moreover the United States Government had appropriated a certain sum of money for the building and furnishing of the buildings and by a supreme misfortune the work had scarcely begun, when the funds were found to have been exhausted. Well, thanks to the wisdom and the energy of Father Duerinck, the Mission was enabled to meet all the expenses and to overcome all difficulties; but it cost him considerable trouble and labor to place his immense family, his dear Indian children, above want. To travel over immense distances in order to buy cattle at a low price, and to bring them to St. Mary's; to descend and remount the rapid and dangerous Missouri River, a distance of many hundred miles; to be forever on the alert to find a favorable chance for obtaining and caring for the farm products; to make desperate efforts to secure means of subsistence; to constantly invent new resources; to form new plans; to carry out new designs; to forestall the needs of the great family which had been entrusted to him; all this is what the Rev. Father Duerinck so generously undertook for the welfare of the Mission, and in all of which he was marvelously successful. This priest had a well-settled character, or rather a spirit wonderfully brave. The infirmities to which he was subject never evoked a single complaint nor changed in the least his outward life. Winter seemed to have lost its terrors for him, and summer its stifling heat; he braved all kinds of weather. His associates have seen him undertake a long journey in the most frosty weather and keep it up in spite of the wintry blasts; to such an extent that, upon reaching the house where he proposed to stop, he discovered that some of his limbs had become frozen, and to recover their use he was compelled to bathe them with ice-cold water. He neglected his sleep; he

forgot his meals; he was always prepared to sacrifice himself in the interest of his Indian children. Amidst all this labor and fatigue he maintained an even disposition; always calm, always patient, always affable. Neither shortness of money nor annoyances of any kind that might arise at any minute, could destroy his peace of mind. The practice of humility was quite natural to him. Not in the least vain or affected in his manner; never a word that might savor of vanity; he was completely innocent of those subtleties whereby one's self-esteem asserts itself. Although a Superior and much esteemed by all who can appreciate nice ways, his great delight was to devote himself to the humblest occupations, like the lowest servant of the household. He was so completely dead to human pride that he never turned an angry countenance to the bitter reproaches and insults which he received at times from people of little education. Very frequently he would take revenge the first time by doing some great kindness in return to the person who had offended him. When he was chided for his excessive mildness toward people who were known to be the enemies of Catholics and of priests, he would reply. "Well, we must force them to like us."

Father Duerinck was charitable, but with a prudent and wise charity. In fact no one ever did more real good for the Indians of this territory. He was liberal toward the poor and the weak; he understood better than any one else in what way to secure to the Indian the advantage of civilization. He assisted them in every way by encouraging them to work and by compensating their industry. In that way he was so successful that the Pottowatomies of St. Mary's were superior to the inhabitants of the other villages in those qualities which go to make good citizens. Those who had the closest relations with the Reverend Father know how far his generosity extended, and their prayers, inspired by the liveliest gratitude, will not fail to call down upon the good Pottowatomies the blessings of the Father of Mercy.

The death of good Father Duerinck is an immeasurable loss, and I fear an irreparable one. St. Mary's has lost in him

its very soul and life; the Indians have lost a distinguished benefactor, the widows, an excellent adviser and consoler in their afflictions and misery. The Mission has lost an incomparable Superior, and we have lost the best of brethren and of Fathers.

The sudden and awful blow caused the bitterest mourning to every one in this neighborhood. There would be nothing to console us in this sudden affliction, if we did not know that nine years of suffering and self-denial, of incessant struggling against one's inclinations, borne and undertaken for the greater glory of God, is the best of all preparations for a holy death.

I will here add the homage which the Government Agent, Colonel Murphy, has paid to Reverend Father Duerinck. Upon learning of his death, he wrote to Major Haverty, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis: "The model school of St. Mary's Mission will continue, without interruption, its beneficent work, under its old teachers and with its usual and regular systems. At this time (Dec. 21) the Mission and all the neighborhood are plunged in mourning and distress, occasioned by the sudden and unexpected death of its Superior, the Reverend Father Duerinck. I consider this loss as one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall the Pottowatomie nation, of which he was the devoted friend and father. It is one of those decrees in the infinite wisdom of Providence to which we must all bow with entire humility. Fortunately for St. Mary's school and Mission, the void left by Father Duerinck's death may be filled. The children will continue to receive the same kindness and the same instruction. It is chiefly the heads of families and the youth generally who are at the greatest loss in finding themselves deprived of his counsel, and above all of his example."

Kindly remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer, and to Miss Rosine, and believe me to be with great respect,

Your humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Jan. 23, 1864.

MADAME S. PARMENTIER, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

I take pleasure in wishing you a happy New Year, full of heavenly blessings. On my arrival at St. Louis I received your excellent letter written last spring and the gift which you then sent me in your great charity, to aid me in my mission among the Indian tribes of the West. A slight illness, which it pleased God to send me, prevented my answering you sooner.

I am very grateful for your letter and for your generous gift to the Indians. I wish you a happy New Year, all the blessings of heaven, commending myself particularly to your good prayers. I can assure you that, for my part, I pray for your spiritual and temporal welfare every day when celebrating Mass.

The following news will no doubt be very interesting to you, who share with so much earnestness in our work beyond the Rocky Mountains. On my last visit to New York I wrote to the Superioress of the Providence Asylum at Montreal to let her know that the Fathers of St. Ignatius' Mission among the Flatheads and the Pends d'Oreilles, were engaged in building a convent for the education of Indian children and would in consequence soon need a small band of Sisters. Here is the touching reply. "The Superioress at Vancouver when returning here next Spring will bring a band of Sisters with her, three or four of whom will be at the disposal of your Reverend Fathers for the convent which they are about to erect at the St. Ignatius' Mission. The community is confident that it will also be able to send you any required persons for the other Missions to be established among your Indian tribes whenever the occasion arises." This twofold promise, for the present and for the future, gave me great happiness and satisfaction, and I thank the Lord in all the sincerity of my heart.

During my short stay in California last October, I called on the good Sisters of Notre Dame, whom I had the happiness of bringing — five in number — from Namur to America, in

1843. They are still living and in good health. They possess two fine large buildings, one at San José, and the other at Marysville. The first contains twenty-two professed Sisters, seven novices, and two postulants; one hundred and twenty boarding scholars, seventy-five day scholars, and about the same number in the free classes. On Sundays they hold class for working girls, and they assemble the Catholic girls for instruction in Christian doctrine. At Marysville they have fourteen Sisters, who also are caring for many boarding and day scholars, devoting themselves to the same work as the Sisters at San José.

During my visit to Brooklyn we spoke of the good Sisters of St. Mary's at Namur who arrived last August at New York together with Father Smarius. I am greatly interested in their new establishment and I am glad to have assisted in it. Here is an extract from a letter of Sister Emilie, Superioress (Lockport, Dec. 29): "We are most happy to be able to do a little work in the vineyard of the Lord in a country where there is still such lack of laborers. We owe this great happiness, after God, to you, Reverend Father. We beg you to accept the assurance of our deepest gratitude. We know that we could not give you better evidence of our gratitude than to continue laboring with zeal for the salvation of the souls committed to our care, and this is what we are going to do, with the Divine help. The good Lord has already favored us; for from the very first month we had one hundred and fifty scholars, a great number of whom had been attending Protestant schools, and we believe that our good fortune will continue. We therefore have good reason to be pleased with our Mission at Lockport where there is so much to do."

A few days ago I received a letter from Reverend Father Joset of Colville on the Columbia River. In his letter he informs me that he is having great success in his work of evangelization among the many new tribes in Washington Territory. This good Father is, so to speak, the apostle of the three Christian tribes: the Schuyelpies or Chaudières, the Lake Indians, and the Kalispels of the Bay. He extends his travel and his missionary work among the Sinpoils, the Sklallam, the

Gens-des-Isles-de-Pierres, the Spiskwensi, and the Satlilku — tribes scattered along the river and in the interior. Baptisms have been numerous everywhere.

These are the excellent and consoling gifts which I have received this New Year's, and which I take great pleasure in communicating to you, convinced at the same time that your worthy family will unite their prayers with mine in begging the Divine assistance for these new establishments and for prosperity among the Indian Missions.

I have the honor to be, Madame,

Yours obediently,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P.S. Some days ago I sent you by express three volumes of historical sketches (1860-61-62) recently received from Belgium with other books.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Aug. 24, 1864.

To The Estimable MADAME S. PARMENTIER, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

I have just arrived at St. Louis safe and sound, finding there your kind letter of April 29, together with your generous alms for the Indian Mission. I hasten to express to you my sincere gratitude. I never fail, particularly at the Altar, to offer earnest prayers for your happiness, the happiness of your dear children, Mr. Bayer, your son-in-law, and all your worthy family. Without fear of mistake I may add that the good Indians belonging to the Mission do not forget their great benefactress in their prayers.

I left St. Louis on April 20, consequently before the arrival of your letter, and being constantly traveling and remote from post offices, no word reached me from my Superiors during my absence. It is to this fact alone that you must attribute the delay in my reply.

I should like very much to write you a long letter, but really I have not the time. I did hope to find a moment of leisure on my return to St. Louis after three long months of travel and

missionary labor. Needless to say that I was disappointed, that the old proverb was verified in my case, "There is no rest for the wicked." I but arrived to plunge with bowed head into a multitude of small matters that had accumulated on my table during my absence. Really I was rather upset by them and I did not know where to begin. Little by little, however, I felt my way and to-day I have at last caught up. My latest visit to the Indians was, from a religious point of view, by the grace of God and the assistance of our good Mother the Blessed Virgin Mary, a happy success. On the way I baptized very many children and quite a number of adults. I stopped for a month among the assembled tribes of the Riccaries, Minatarees, and Mandans to the number of about three thousand souls. I baptized all their small children who had not yet had that good fortune. My baptismal register contains six hundred and twenty-three names of children and adults, with very many marriages renewed and confirmed before the altar. I shall have quite a long and encouraging account to give you on the occasion of my next visit to Brooklyn, and I reserve it for that pleasing occasion, which I trust is not far off. In a few days I have to go to Washington to see about matters connected with our Indian Missions.

When I left St. Louis I believed that my absence was going to be prolonged. The United States Government had sent me to endeavor to bring the great Sioux nation to listen to terms of submission and peace. I interviewed many Sioux tribes and other nations, and I venture to hope that they will keep their promises and will follow my advice. Yet in view of the declaration of the general of the army, that "he is resolved to make no truce with the Sioux on the upper waters of the Missouri and the Canada borders," I considered my peaceful mission at an end and I came home. I fear that this Indian war is going to be a long one, that it will cost the lives of many unfortunate white people and increase the national debt, already enormous, by many millions of dollars. I came back to St. Louis by way of St. Mary's Mission among the Pottowatomies. This Mission is still progressing satisfactorily and the Ladies

of the Sacred Heart are accomplishing wonders there. This Christian tribe is reaching the end of its individual existence and will soon be mingled among the people of the great American Republic. Our Fathers and the Sisters continue their work in favor of these dear Indians. We have met with a great loss in the person of Rev. Father F. X. DeCoen, nephew of the Rev. Father M. Neerincks, the Kentucky apostle. He died of apoplexy on July 16 last. He was one of the most worthy Fathers of the Province, both as to his merits and his ability. He labored for twenty years in the vineyard of the Lord in America, with untiring devotion. He will be universally regretted by those who knew him; and his memory, like that of his distinguished uncle, will always be preserved. He was born at Minove in Belgium. I commend him to the prayers of your family. I am very thankful to you, Madame, and to your worthy and estimable family, for the kind prayers which you have offered for me during my recent travels. You will, I trust, continue to favor me in the same way. I would ask you to please thank, in my name, the good Sister Constance and the little children who have united in prayer for the success of my work among the Indians.

Please remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine. I have the honor to be, Madame,

Yours very sincerely,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P. S.

I send you to-day two pamphlets of historical sketches containing a partial account of my visit to the Indians last year, and of a sad and regrettable attack made by the irreligious in Belgium against the Society of Jesus.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Sept. 12, 1868.

MADAME S. PARMENTIER, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

If I have delayed so long writing to you I felt well assured that my excuse would be regarded as satisfactory by

your worthy family. I am back at St. Louis, since the latter part of July, from my long and perilous journey and mission among the warlike tribes in the northern parts of Nebraska and Montana. At that time the heat was excessive and it wore me out; at my time of life recuperation is slow. Upon reaching here I found a small pile of letters, many of which required immediate answer. Then, as my duty required, I had to make my report as to my Mission to our Very Reverend Father-General. My travels covered about 6,000 miles, and even had I tried to limit myself to one word for each mile traveled, my story must have been a long one. At first I had determined to make a copy, or to have a copy made, for the purpose of sending it to you, as evidence of my lively gratitude for all your goodness and generosity in our regard. To-day that task is finished so I hasten to write to you.

Without being able to boast of my health I will say, however, that I am pretty well; and what encourages me particularly is the assurance which our Father-Provincial gives me, that in the course of next spring a new Mission will be established among the great Sioux or Dakota nation, which is estimated to number eighty thousand people. He adds however, "provided the means and circumstances permit." If Heaven grants me the grace of living until then, a place will be assigned to me among the missionaries. I earnestly solicit your good prayers to this end. The missionaries and their worthy neophytes will never cease begging heaven to shower upon you its best blessings.

Please remember me, Madame, to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer, to Miss Rosine, to the excellent Rölker family, and to the kind Sisters of Charity. Their pious prayers have no doubt been a great help to me. I am, Madame,

Very respectfully and sincerely yours,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, July 26, 1869.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

I have received Miss Rosine's kind letter of the 6th inst., together with your benevolent gift for the Indian Missions. Please accept my lively gratitude. I am late in making my acknowledgment, but I trust that you will hold me excused. The fact is I have been more or less ill since my return to St. Louis, and apart from this I had also several pressing matters to look after whenever I felt well enough to give them my attention. Since my return I have been affected by the severity of the climate. The difference being so great between the mild and cool spring of Belgium and the burning summer heat of Missouri, I have suffered very much from the change. The transition from the one to the other was too sudden. Still I have begun to resume gradually my usual duties, and I hope that, my health and the circumstances permitting, I may make another journey and mission among the tribes of Missouri before winter sets in. It is my intention to select a suitable location and to make preparations for the founding of a new Mission for the Indians next spring, provided peace prevails and the conditions are favorable.

The news I get from all parts of the Indian country is far from comforting. Disturbances between the two races, the white people and the redskins, are constantly taking place, and though quelled for a while they soon break out again. I often think and I often say that "if the Indians sin against the white people, it is because the latter have sinned greatly against them." Let us continue to pray to heaven and to exert ourselves for the welfare and salvation of these poor children of the wilderness.

According to the news which I have recently had from our Indian Missions east and west of the Rocky Mountains, in Kansas, in the territories of Idaho and Montana, there is reason for satisfaction. Our Fathers are laboring there with ardor and excellent success. Father Joset has just brought

within the fold several Indian tribes who live beyond the Columbia River.

A letter written in your name by Miss Rosine will always give me great pleasure, while now and then I shall be happy to give you some little news of myself.

Kindly remember me in a special manner to your worthy and dear family and commend me to the prayers of the Sisters of Charity and of the Little Sisters of the Poor. I have the honor to be, Madame,

Yours sincerely,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Jan. 18, 1870.

MADAME S. PARMENTIER, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

Permit your obedient servant and the old friend of your worthy and estimable family to address you this New Year's letter. I wish you and your dear children a prosperous and happy New Year, full of heavenly blessings. At the same time I renew my promise to offer for your intention a weekly Mass and a daily memento for your spiritual and temporal welfare. I repeat, also, my sincere thanks for all the notable kindness toward myself personally and toward our good Indian converts, your adopted children, who during so many years have been the recipients of your thoughtful and charitable benefactions.

The interest which you have always taken in my small affairs and the great pleasure I have derived from writing to you, lead me to relate to you my condition, occupation, and the plans I have formed, since I had the honor of calling on you on my way back from Europe last June.

My health, broken down by the heat of last July and August, has improved enough to allow me to make several short journeys. Reverend Father Van Gorp, S.J., who built a new church and school at Helena, the capital of Montana, asked me to interest myself in obtaining for him a band of Sisters, in

order to look after certain needs of the Mission. I was glad to meet with success in accomplishing the desire of the Reverend Father. I secured a band of six Sisters of Charity from the old establishment of Bishop David of Kentucky. The Sisters had to travel a distance of 1500 miles to reach their destination, some of them by the Pacific Railroad and some by the ordinary stage route. I went to Leavenworth and to Omaha, to prepare the way for them and to defray the cost of their long journey, amounting to \$838.00. Their first school, for the education of young girls, is already in full working order at Helena. They expect before long to establish orphanages, asylums, and hospitals. It is consoling for me to have been able to participate, with the help of my friends, in this splendid work, which has a great future before it in the extensive territories of Montana and Idaho. The good Sisters of Providence, from Canada, have already for some years been working there for the instruction of the Indian children.

At the beginning of November I was able to undertake a second journey or a visit among the Pottowatomie Indians in the State of Kansas. We have two schools there, with about 300 pupils. Both are under the direction of our Reverend Fathers, while the Ladies of the Sacred Heart take care of the girls. I am glad to be able to tell you that these two establishments are successful and even prosperous. The scholars give entire satisfaction to their teachers, as well by their exemplary earnestness, as by their application and goodness. It is among the Pottowatomies that I began my missionary career in 1838. I have baptized many hundreds of these dear neophytes. They are my first children in Jesus Christ. Whatever touches them interests me. I had a great desire to see them again, particularly in a moment so important and critical for them. Misfortune is at its height to-day in the land of the Pottowatomies. I am going to give you a few details about the matter, without suppressing anything, in order to show you the perils that surround these good Indians. Kansas was admitted to the Union in 1861. Its fertile land and superior location, midway between the east and west of America, attracted vast numbers

of immigrants. They already exceed 400,000 in number; and there are established more than 400 cities and towns, all progressive and prosperous. The Missions of St. Francis of Hieronymus among the Osages, and that of St. Mary's among the Pottowatomies, have been transformed into towns, the one under the name of Missionville and the other St. Marysville. Houses spring up there as by magic. The traveler cries out, "It is fine! It is beautiful! What a wonderful change!" Oh, yes, but behold the reverse of this fine medal from the Indians' point of view.

I speak here only of the Pottowatomies whom I visited last. They are meeting trials of the most critical order; but they knew they were to come. They recently received from the United States Government, together with full title to their section of land or farm, a sum of \$500.00 each. This was the signal for the entrance of hordes of white people, who, like an army of starved grasshoppers, or rather of wolves and rapacious vultures, swept down upon these poor Indian families, and made desperate exertions to devour and destroy these simple-minded and inoffensive beings in the midst of their happiness. Detestable whiskey soon flowed in abundance at St. Mary's and throughout all the neighboring assemblages where the government appropriations had been received. Many sudden and unlooked-for deaths followed as the direful outcome of the excesses that took place.

The missionaries had considerable trouble to stop this fearful scourge and this destroying sword (drunkenness) which the white people outrageously forced upon the Indians. In spite of all the efforts of these agents of hell, the good missionaries found cause for consolation. The greater number of their neophytes remained true throughout the trial, and they edified their pastors by their devotion and their industry. They all sought to avoid the abyss into which our so-called civilizers sought to plunge them. Our good Fathers stood resolutely at their posts, and were not discouraged. They fought with increased zeal to put a stop to the outrage which divine goodness was receiving from its children. The Indians are still very

dear to their hearts and their labors among them still lead to happy and glorious results.

Nevertheless, the position of the missionary among the Indians is harder now than it was formerly. He is under the necessity of combating every species of evil; drunkenness, with which the white people endeavor to poison their neophytes; doctrinal errors, which false clergymen scatter broadcast; race prejudice, the more scandalous from the fact that it often originates with people of our own faith — with those weak Catholics who are only nominally such, and who come hither to establish themselves on the property of the Indian. In order to accomplish any real good among the Indians under present circumstances, one must have unlimited humility, the most disinterested zeal, the spirit of divine love, and above all, a supreme contempt for human opinion.

I returned recently from a visit to Milwaukee, Wis., where we have a thriving institution. Our holy religion is really making rapid and gratifying progress in that neighborhood. The following review will illustrate this fact. In 1844 the first bishop was consecrated there. He found five priests in his vast domain. His cathedral was a small frame church. Milwaukee, at the time the bishop appeared there, had a population of hardly 2000 people, of whom but few were Catholics. The whole diocese did not hold more than 3000 Catholics. To-day the city has a population of 100,000. There are twelve Catholic churches, two seminaries, and two colleges; several schools for both sexes; boarding schools, orphan asylums, homes for the aged, hospitals, and several charitable institutions. There are 350 churches and chapels throughout the diocese, and seventy-five stations that will soon be replaced by churches. There are more than 200 regular and secular priests, and a population of over 350,000 Catholics — all this accomplished in the space of twenty-five years.

To conclude I will commend myself to your good prayers, to those of Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and of Miss Rosine, for the success of my new Mission. If my health permits it, and my Superiors approve, I intend, as soon as the Missouri River is

open to navigation, to visit the Sioux and other tribes in order to pave the way to the creation of this new Mission. The Indians, by thousands, are constantly calling upon me to come among them in the spring and to arrange a permanent Mission among them. I have the honor to be, Madame,

Yours very sincerely,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Feb. 6, 1870.

MISS ROSINE PARMENTIER, Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MISS ROSINE:

Your esteemed favor of the 1st inst. containing, in your mother's name, a contribution for our Indian Mission, has just been received. I shall devote the money according to her intention. Please receive my very humble thanks in the name of our dear neophytes. We shall pray, and induce others to pray for her, to the end that Heaven may protect her and preserve her for many years to come. I am very glad to hear that she has recovered from her late indisposition.

I must commend myself in a very particular manner to the kind prayers of the family. My health is not over robust. I am gradually losing my hearing. I make my daily meditations chiefly "To suffer patiently the burdens of this life according to the example of Jesus Christ." I feel a great need of it. I should like to attain to that saving state of trying to live in suffering and to accept it with patience, to die in the consolation of having washed out my sins by means of human suffering, which is the most essential form of penance for Christian salvation, and the perfect means of submitting absolutely to the divine will of the Saviour.

Please remember me to your excellent and worthy mother, to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer, presenting them with my sincere respects.

Trusting soon to be able to give you gratifying news of the Mission I am going to establish, I have the honor to be, dear Miss Rosine,

Yours obediently,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Sept. 3, 1870.

MADAME S. PARMENTIER, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

For many years past I have had the privilege, on returning from a Mission among the Indians, of sending you a little sketch of my excursion. I know that you are always pleased to receive it, for you are their kind mother and their benefactress; and you are incessantly praying to Our Lord for their conversion. On account of the excessive heat of the summer which seems never to moderate, I am compelled to make my story a brief one. I am worn out and in a condition of general prostration, from which, I imagine, I shall not readily recover. During June, July, and August the heat was awful on the plains, the thermometer frequently registering 110° in the shade. If I exert myself at present to write to you, it is only to show you that I am still among the living, and also in the desire to inquire how you all are. As soon as the mild autumn weather returns and brings me a renewal of strength, I shall endeavor to give you some interesting account of my last Mission and my long journey of 1800 miles up the Missouri.

The results of our Mission have been satisfactory. My companion was the Reverend Father Panken, S.J., a most devoted priest, and a man full of zeal for the salvation of souls. The Indians received us everywhere with marks of the liveliest pleasure and a most sincere friendship. They paid the strictest attention to all our religious instructions and to all our good advice, touching their present position with regard to the American Government. The Sioux at present are assembled upon vast reservations; they are clothed, and on every Saturday they receive provisions for the week in sugar, coffee, pork, flour, and corn. They would perish of hunger and exposure without this assistance; for the buffalos, on which they formerly depended for food, have almost completely vanished from their lands.

The Indians are urgent everywhere in begging for missionaries. There is every probability that this ardent wish will be

finally gratified next spring. Reverend Father Provincial tells me that I may rely upon it. The Dakota or Sioux nation is divided into several tribes, each having a separate name, and together they constitute about 80,000 souls. It is the most numerous of all the Indian nations in the United States, and occupies an immense territory. During our last mission and visit (to 15,000 or 20,000 Sioux) the number of adults and children baptized was 434.

Our Mission extended to the forts and military outposts on both banks of the Missouri for a distance of 800 miles. We are under extreme obligation to all the officers for their great kindness and benevolence in our regard. They did everything in their power to make our visit agreeable and to assist us in our ministrations among the Catholic soldiers who form fully three-quarters of the army at the posts. The General in command in Missouri (who is a convert) and many of his superior officers were foremost in setting a good example to their men and brethren in religion by approaching the tribunal of Penance and receiving Holy Communion.

Please present my kindest regards to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine. I commend myself urgently to the kind prayers of the family. I have the honor to be, Madame,

Yours obediently,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, May 21, 1872.

MISS ROSINE PARMENTIER, Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MISS ROSINE:

I have received your two kind letters of the 4th and 10th inst. respectively, and I thank you very much for them. It affords me great pleasure to hear from your dear family. I am grateful to you also for the news you have had the kindness to give me about the return of Captain Lechère and his vessel. I hope soon to be able to send some small trifles to Belgium in the care of good Mr. Bayer. Your gift of minerals will afford much pleasure to my nephew, Gustave Van Kerckhove, and will enlarge his collection.

My trunks and boxes reached St. Louis in good order. I have just opened them to find Father Bellynck's little box. With your permission I took out of it the supply of Lourdes water and Jordan water. Yesterday evening I made use of the Lourdes water, and begged the intercession of the Blessed Virgin on my behalf. For ten days past I have been quite ill and unable to say Mass. To-day I feel better and have the additional consolation of being able to write you this short letter, in the hope of sending you a longer one soon. The nine companions that I brought along are doing very well. One, the Reverend Father Guidi, with two Brothers, has already set out for the Flatheads and Cœur d'Alènes in the Rocky Mountain Missions. Pray that he may reach the mountains in safety. I am forwarding you to-day, by Adams Express, Father Bellynck's box. You will find the receipt herewith. I trust the box will reach you in good condition.

Kindly present my best respects to your worthy mother and to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer, and commend me especially to their good prayers. I have the honor to be, dear Miss Rosine,

Very sincerely yours,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Aug. 6, 1872.

MADAME S. PARMENTIER, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

Permit me to place in your kind care my letter addressed to Captain Lechère, should he return to New York.

I trust, Madame, that your health and that of your dear family is good, and every day I ask the Almighty to grant you that blessing. My own health is a little better, although for three months past I have scarcely been able to leave my room and I am extremely weak. I commend myself in a particular manner to your kind prayers.

With renewed and sincere respect toward you and all your family, I am, Madame,

Yours obediently,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE RELICS OF THE REVEREND JEAN PIERRE AULNEAU, S.J.

By the REV. J. PAQUIN, S.J.

THE Lake of the Woods is a large body of water, studded with innumerable well-wooded islands of all sizes, and indented all around with deep bays and bold headlands, excepting the southwestern part, which is a clean sheet of water with regular shores forming almost a circle. It is about eighty miles from north to south, and about half as much from east to west. Its waters supplied chiefly by the Rainy River, from the southeast, are rather dark with vegetable solutions; they move slowly on to the north, where they find their way to Lake Winnipeg, through the turbulent Winnipeg River. The scenery is very beautiful and much appreciated by tourists, who flock here in summer from many parts of Manitoba and Minnesota. They gather mostly in the town of Kenora, which lies at the north end of the lake. A fine little steamer, the *Kenora*, makes a daily run to the Rainy River for their accommodation.

The Lake of the Woods lies partly in Canadian and partly in American territory. The international boundary line, leaving Rainy River, runs through the lake, skirting the islands, up to the bottom of the bay of the Northwest Angle, thence back again directly south to the 49° parallel, thus cutting out from the Dominion of Canada a triangular corner inaccessible from the United States except by water. It is well to note this bit of territory, for there were found the ruins of the old Fort St. Charles, with the precious remains of the martyred missionary, the Rev. Father Aulneau of the Society of Jesus, and of his companions in misfortune.

THE OLD FORT ST. CHARLES.

In 1731, Pièrre Gaultier de Varennes de Lavérendrye, a French-Canadian, was commissioned by the Governor of New



THE LAKE OF THE WOODS.

France, M. de Beauharnois, in the name of His Majesty the King of France, to go and secure for his country the fur trade of the territories west of the Great Lakes, and meantime to search for a passage by water to the western sea. He reached the bay now called the Northwest Angle, on the western shore of the Lake of the Woods, in the summer of 1732, with his three sons, a Jesuit missionary, the Reverend Charles Messaiger, and a company of about fifty men, servants and soldiers. On the south shore of the bay, on a spot about two miles west of American Point, he erected Fort St. Charles, to serve as a trading post for the Cree Indians inhabiting the surrounding country, and also as a defence against possible attacks from hostile natives. This was but one link in the chain of posts built by Lavérendrye and his successors, from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, to prevent the various tribes of the northwest from carrying their furs to the English who were established on Hudson Bay. It appears to have served its purpose for about twenty years. But when, in 1752, the war broke out between England and France that was to convert New France into a British possession, the French voyageurs rushed to the defence of their country on the St. Lawrence, and the west was deserted. The Northwest Company, which reigned supreme over that country toward the close of the eighteenth century, may have occupied Fort St. Charles as a trading post. The condition of the ground when disturbed by our searching party showed signs of a fire that, at some time unknown to us, must have swept away the last vestige of this once important post; a new and luxuriant vegetation grew over its ruins, until at last no one could answer the question: "Where did old Fort St. Charles stand?"

REV. FATHER AULNEAU, S.J.

On August 15, 1734, there landed in Quebec a little band of French missionaries, who had come to fill the ranks of the dead and give new strength to the living. Remarkable among them was Jean Pi  re Aulneau, a young priest then twenty-nine years of age. His ability and virtue singled him out as well

fitted to take charge of the furthest missionary outposts in the far west, and Father Aulneau, under orders from his Superiors, bade farewell to all human consolations and plunged into the depths of the wilderness. His instructions were to study the language of the Cree and Assiniboin nations, and, when the occasion offered, to push on further west and south, and reach the country of a certain half civilized tribe, known to the Indians alone, and called "Ouant Chipouanes" or "Mandans." It was hoped that these sedentary Indians would more willingly accept the yoke of the Gospel, and become the center of a new missionary field in the western prairies. Father Aulneau reached Fort St. Charles, with Lavérendrye, on his second voyage, in the fall of 1735, and spent the winter there, having to suffer greatly from want of proper food.

THE MASSACRE.

On June 5, 1736, M. de Lavérendrye despatched to Michilimackinac three canoes, manned by nineteen Frenchmen, under the command of his eldest son, Jean, then twenty-two years of age. Their purpose was to secure some provisions and ammunition that had failed to reach them the previous fall. Father Aulneau was of the party. There were twenty-one in all. Their route was across the lake toward Rainy River. After one day's journey, they were surprised by a party of Sioux Indians from the south, and all cruelly massacred. Their bodies were found sixteen days later, lying mutilated and headless, on a small island, seven leagues from the fort; their heads had been cut off and arranged in order on beaver skins. It appears that the Sioux were prowling about the lake in quest of the Crees, and that having met these voyageurs, they wreaked vengeance upon them, because the French had supplied arms and ammunition to their enemies. This terrible misfortune caused much grief in the colony at the time, but was gradually forgotten, and even the scene of the massacre could no longer be pointed out either by the paleface or the savage.

MASSACRE ISLAND.

It was not until the year 1885, when the Jesuit Fathers were invited to take possession of Saint Boniface College, in Manitoba, that interest was revived in the young Jesuit missionary, who had shed his blood in those western parts more than a century and a half before. It grew more intense in 1889, when a collection of letters written partly by Father Aulneau, and partly by his fellow missionaries, was discovered in a village of La Vendée in France. In 1890, some of our professors, spending their vacation days on the Lake of the Woods, made an effort to identify the island on which the awful tragedy of 1736 was enacted. Under the direction of Fathers Kavanagh and Blain, and guided by Captain Laverdière, now deceased, who had navigated these waters for many years, they landed on an island about one mile long and half a mile wide, situated about fifteen miles to the southeast of the Northwest Angle. Was it really the scene of the massacre? It is not proved beyond doubt; but the navigators of the Lake of the Woods called it Massacre Island, and their opinion was based on the tradition of some oldtimers now dead. Besides, the Sauter Indians now inhabiting that territory gave it the name of Manitou Island, looked upon it as haunted, and through superstition never dared to land on its shores. Before leaving, the explorers planted a cross on a high rock in commemoration of their visit.

The island was visited again in 1902, and in 1905, by His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface, the Most Reverend L. A. Langevin, O.M.C., in the company of a few priests and laymen. The Archbishop took great interest in this historical landmark; he had excavations made on various points of the island, in futile search for some relics of the unfortunate victims whose remains were supposed to be buried there, and he even had a small memorial chapel erected on a high bluff, and dedicated to Our Lady of Martyrs.

FIRST ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER THE FORT.

On the occasion of his first visit to Massacre Island, in 1902, the Archbishop of St. Boniface interviewed two old Indian chiefs, Powassin and Andagamigowinini, whose reserves lie on the shores of the Northwest Angle Bay, and they very kindly gave all the information they possessed in regard to the site of the old Fort St. Charles. They declared that there were some mounds with square stones showing on the surface, on both shores of the bay, and that, according to their traditions, these mounds were the ruins of fireplaces built by the French before the English had come into the country. Powassin even consented to guide the Archbishop and his party to the mound on the north shore, a little to the west of Buckete Island and American Point. There, indeed, some excavations revealed an old fireplace, with square stones laid regularly so as to form the three sides of a quadrangle, and a layer of ashes some eight inches deep, buried under about eighteen inches of alluvial soil. The site lay on a slope, near the shore, with rock close to the surface, offering but little advantage for the building of a fort; yet, in a first moment of enthusiasm, *Eureka* was the prevalent verdict, and a cross was erected on the spot, bearing the very premature inscription: "Fort St. Charles, built in 1732; discovered in 1902."

In 1905, we find the indefatigable Archbishop again devoting a few days of relaxation to the search of this historical spot. I happened to be one of the party, and it was then that I became interested in the solution of the problem. Our work, however, was confined to a more thorough search of the site visited before, in 1905. Another fireplace was unearthed close to the one already mentioned, together with a few metallic articles, such as a steel file, some iron nails, and the blade of a knife. It was evident that some old French building had existed there long ago, probably the home of some independent fur trader, but to me and to some others it was equally plain that we had not found the site of the fort.

Another mound pointed out by Andagamigowinini, a few



THE COLLEGE PARTY IN THEIR LAUNCH.



REV. A. BELIVEAU, D.D., AND HONORABLE L. A. PRUDHOMME.

rods to the west, also revealed a fireplace when probed, but it was probably of the same origin as those previously found. Before leaving for our respective homes, I took the liberty of proposing to the Archbishop to organize a party of explorers, among the professors of Saint Boniface College, during the next summer vacations, in 1908, and resume the search for the ruins of the fort, and the relics of Father Aulneau. His Grace kindly approved the plan, and wished me and my future co-laborers all success.

THE FIRST COLLEGE EXPEDITION.

The 10th of July, 1908, found us, a party of nine determined explorers, well provided with tools and provisions, en route for the Northwest Angle, on board the gasoline launch *Lavérendrye*, equipped for the purpose. The members of this expedition were the Rector of the College, the Rev. J. Dugas, S.J.; the Rev. J. Blain, S.J., Professor of Physical Sciences; the Rev. J. Paquin, S.J., Prefect of Studies; four scholastics of the Society of Jesus, G. Leclair, J. Filion, A. Léveillé, and A. Dugré, professors at the college; and two lay Brothers, H. Gervais and U. Paquin. I had the honor of commanding the expedition, having been fitted for this kind of work by a long experience on the missions of Lake Huron. Our route lay from Kenora to the southwestward through a veritable labyrinth of islands, a distance of about forty miles. We landed toward evening on American Point, and pitched our tent in an open spot, to guard as much as possible against the swarms of mosquitoes that infest those shores and make life almost unbearable to tourists at that season. A table was erected in the open air, sheltered overhead by a canopy of foliage, a fireplace was provided for the cook, a rustic altar was raised at one end of the tent, for the daily celebration of the sacrifice of the Mass; boughs of evergreen trees were spread around the tent to serve instead of beds, and we were now prepared to rough it in regular camp style. The next morning the party was at work clearing the last site pointed out to the Archbishop in 1907, and inspecting generally the scene of all the previous excavations.

After a critical survey of a few hours and some animated discussion, we all agreed that it was time to look elsewhere for the ruins of Fort St. Charles.

AN ACCIDENT THAT BORE FRUIT.

Meanwhile I was lying prostrate under the tent nursing an injured foot; for the night before, whilst raising the tent, I had seriously hurt myself by a misdirected stroke of my ax and consequently I was unfit for work for several days. To while away the time, I was reviewing all the literature relating to Fort St. Charles and Massacre Island, when my attention was drawn to a very precise declaration of Chief Powassin, made to the Archbishop in 1902, and thus describing the spot on the south shore of the bay, where ruins of chimneys had been seen in his youth: "They lay close to the shore, in a small cove, amid a bush of poplars, a little to the west of the site on the north shore." This indication, in connection with several old sketches of the Lake of the Woods, showing the fort on the south side of some bay, was as good as a revelation to me. When the party came back for dinner, somewhat discouraged at their first effort, I had no trouble in inducing them to go and hunt out this other spot, on the south shore, about two miles west of the camp. And lo! they returned in the evening, all exulting at their wonderful find. They had located the spot without trouble; they had all formed in a line, a few feet apart, and proceeded along the shore, pick or shovel in hand, testing carefully every knoll they met; after less than an hour's search they had found a mound with a large flat stone showing at the surface and slightly raised by the growing root of a tree. This stone when turned up revealed another similar stone, and again another, and a little shoveling showed unmistakable signs of the ruins of a large fireplace. It was now evening, and they had to come back to camp, full of hopes for the next day's work. But the next day was Sunday; it was spent in holy leisure, varied with an excursion to the new scene of our labors, and somewhat relieved by a humorous incident. In the forenoon one of us suddenly

descried a black spot moving across the bay, some distance away. A close inspection showed it to be a moose taking a bath. Under the spur of the moment, our young men jumped into the row-boat, rifle in hand, and pulled with all their might toward the moving object. Twice the crack of the rifle was heard, but the moose kept on swimming vigorously. The wily beast, taking in the situation at a glance, had swerved a little to an island close by and disappeared into the bush. Our would-be moose slayers came back somewhat crestfallen, remarking very wisely that it would not have been quite orthodox to kill a moose on the Lord's Day, and that it was a closed season for moose.

FIRST DISCOVERIES.

On Monday, July 13, we resumed our task in earnest, and in a methodical way, tracing parallel and perpendicular lines from the already discovered fireplace as a center, and digging holes three feet deep at every point of intersection. But we found these operations extremely difficult, for the place was thickly overgrown with tall poplar trees measuring from eight to twelve inches in diameter; the soil was a veritable network of roots. None of us, save the two lay Brothers, who did heroic service, was familiar with the pick, ax, or shovel, nor had our college occupations been a fit training for such heavy work; good will, however, and enthusiasm made up for lack of skill, and the trees went falling and the earth flying in every direction. Another great drawback was the mosquito plague, for we had to keep up a constant fight against these insidious enemies, either by smudging them away or killing them outright. For all these hardships, however, we were amply repaid by the gratifying results of our excavations.

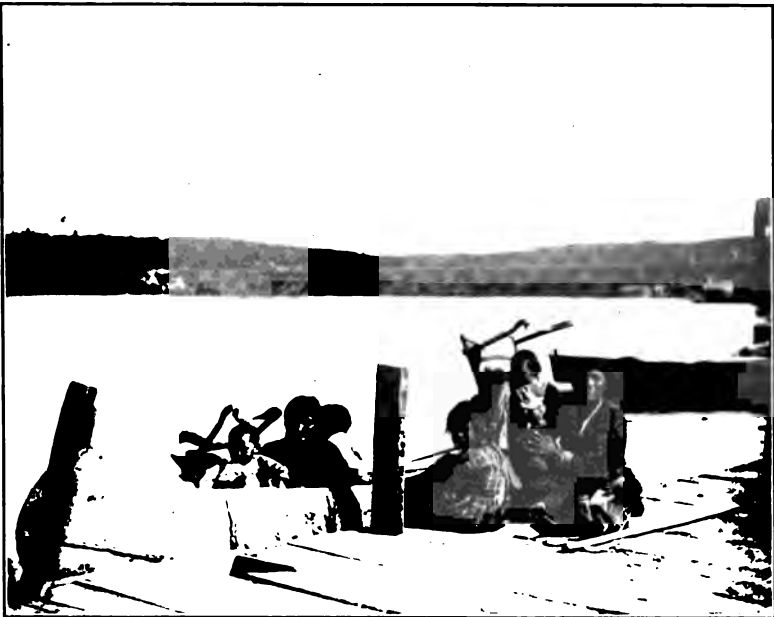
A thorough search of the mound at first revealed a large double fireplace, opening east and west, with a layer of ashes about eighteen inches deep on the hearth; the stones had fallen down on every side to a depth of about four feet, leaving only the lower rows in order. Two other much smaller fireplaces were discovered, one to the east and the other to the north of

the large one, about thirty feet away. Several metallic articles were found in the vicinity of the large chimney, such as a pair of scissors, knife blades, a carpenter's chisel, a round leaden bullet, a shoe or belt buckle, some nails, brass handles of kitchen pots, etc. Pockets of ashes and fish and bones of fowl were struck almost wherever a hole was dug. A heap of bones was uncovered north of the large fireplace, lying on the clay, under about ten inches of black loam. Their identity was a puzzle to us at first; the careless manner in which they were piled together, and the absence of skulls, made us loath to believe that they were human bones; but a closer inspection proved them to be the bones of about a dozen human skeletons collected somewhere, and brought there for burial. To the southeast, at a distance of about fifty feet, were found, two feet under the surface, three half rotten stumps of posts, about fifteen inches long, standing upright in the clay close to one another. From that point, in a straight line to the north, were found at intervals traces of posts, consisting of a reddish dust, through which one could easily thrust the hand or the end of a pole. Similar traces of posts were found also in a line running west, and at right angles with the other one.

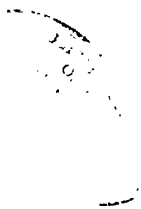
All these discoveries, described in a few words, were the result of five days of arduous toil. It was now Friday, July 17, and our vacation time having come to an end, we had to return to the college and begin our annual retreat, very reluctantly leaving our task only half done.

WHERE THESE THE RUINS OF OLD FORT ST. CHARLES?

We believe they were and here follows sufficient proof for our opinion. It is an accepted fact with all historians of western Canada, that Fort St. Charles was built on the western shore of the Lake of Woods, but no one knew precisely where. Margry, the French compiler of documents relative to the history of New France, has this to say under the title of "*Découvertes des Montagnes Rocheuses*": "The second post is Fort St. Charles, to the southwest of the Lake of the Woods, eighty



INDIANS AT KENORA.



leagues from Fort St. Pierre" (on Rainy Lake). In a letter written by Father Aulneau, from Fort St. Charles, in 1736, we read: "Fort St. Charles is about one league. . . . (here are several words impossible to decipher). . . . sixty to seventy leagues to the southwest on Lake of the Woods." Several charts of the Lake of the Woods, more or less fanciful, drawn at the time of Lavérendrye's travels in the west, invariably put this fort on the western shore of the lake, and on the south side of some bay or inlet. These indications would not have sufficed to locate positively Fort St. Charles, but the description of the fort itself which we possess permits us to say that we have located it. It is found in Father Aulneau's letter quoted above. "It (Fort St. Charles) is merely an enclosure made with four rows of posts, from twelve to fifteen feet in height, in the form of an oblong square, within which are a few rough cabins constructed of logs and clay and covered with bark." Through the courtesy of Judge L. A. Prudhomme, the Secretary of the St. Boniface Historical Society, we possess this other description of the fort, copied by M. Leopold Léau, D.Sc., of Paris, in the Colonial Archives, from an unsigned document, dated Sept. 28, 1733, and addressed to M. de Beauharnois for the King. I translate from the French: "He (Lavérendrye) has erected another fort to the west of the Lake of the Woods, sixty leagues from Rainy Lake. It measures inside one hundred feet with four bastions. There is a house for the missionary; a church, another house for the commander, a four apartment building with chimneys, a powder-house and a storehouse. There are also two doors opposite each other and a sentry-box, and the posts are doubled and are fifteen feet out of ground."

These two descriptions are not altogether similar, but they are not contradictory, and we may gather from them both that the fort consisted of four double rows of posts, in the form of an oblong square, two sides at least measuring one hundred feet in length; that three of its buildings had chimneys: the four apartment building probably devoted to the soldiers and servants, the missionary's house, and the commander's house. Now we had found three fireplaces, probably corresponding in their

size and relative position to these buildings. We had also located one corner of the double palisade, and we would later trace in the same manner the east, south, and west sides of the palisade, the south side measuring sixty feet in length, and the east and west sides one hundred feet to the water's edge, with which the north side now coincides. This fact of the site of the fort being so close to the water's edge is no objection, for the shore is very fiat, and the general level of the lake has been raised a few feet some years ago, by the construction of a dam at the mouth of Winnipeg River. But further and irrefutable proofs were to be added to these, during the second period of our search.

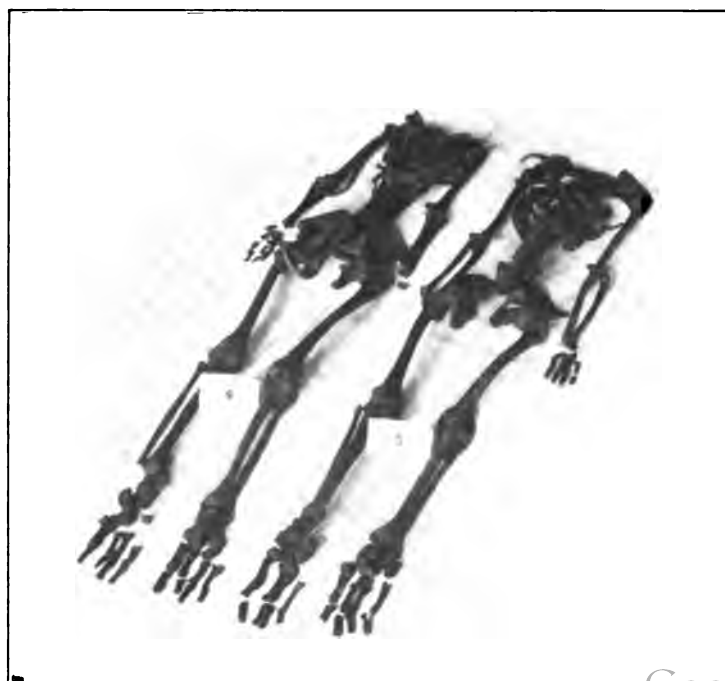
SECOND COLLEGE EXPEDITION.

When our Retreat was over, and our tongues were loosed again, we naturally talked of the discoveries of the Lake of the Woods, and of the work left undone, and it was decided to continue the search without delay. On the fifth of August a new party embarked at Kenora, on the launch *Lavérendrye*, en route for Fort St. Charles. It consisted this time of only seven members: the Rev. A. Béliveau, Chancellor of the Diocese of St. Boniface; the Honorable Judge L. A. Prudhomme, the Rev. J. Blain, S.J.; the Rev. J. Paquin, S.J.; B. Bisson, a Scholastic of the Society of Jesus; and two lay Brothers, A. Gauthier and H. Gervais.

What were we looking for now? For further proof of the identity of this historical site, and especially for the remains of the Rev. Father Aulneau, and of his companion in misfortune, Jean de Lavérendrye. Information received through M. Léopold Léan, mentioned above, gave us to understand that their bones were to be found in the ruins of Fort St. Charles. It is an extract from a memoir sent from Fort St. Charles, by Lavérendrye to the Court, in 1736: "On September 17, I sent the Sergeant with six men to go and raise the bodies of the Rev. Father Aulneau and of my son; on the 18th I had them buried in the chapel, with all the heads of the Frenchmen slain, which they brought according to my order." It is well to note here



SKELETONS 1, 2, AND 3.



SKELETONS 4 AND 5.

that according to the same memoir these bodies were left unburied, exposed to a hot summer sun, from the 6th of June to the 22d, and that they were transferred from Massacre Island to the fort for final burial only three months later; hence we may infer that they must have been in a state of advanced decomposition. Here we had unmistakable means of proving both the identity of the remains of Aulneau and Lavérendrye, and of the site of Fort St. Charles. For if we found nineteen skulls and two skeletons in those ruins, they must needs be those of Aulneau and Lavérendrye and their companions, and the ruins must be those of Fort St. Charles. Hence our most sanguine hopes of achieving complete success, and our reason for inviting an ecclesiastical and a civil officer to bear witness to our find.

THE NINETEEN SKULLS APPEAR IN DUE TIME.

Having established our headquarters at the same place as before, on American Point, we set to work with renewed vigor, and accomplished our task in the course of five days. Our purpose was now to locate the site of the chapel, of which there was of course no visible trace. After a day of tentative but futile work, we uncovered a layer of flat stones, with some ashes; they were likely the hearth, on which a fire was built, to warm the chapel in cold weather. Extending our excavations from that point westward, across the spot where the heap of human bones had been found, to our great joy the much desired skulls came in sight. They were arranged in two double rows, lying in the clay under about two feet of earth, in a good state of preservation, with rootlets grown through the cavities of the eyes, ears, and nose. They were duly counted and there were nineteen; one had an arrow point firmly imbedded in the lower jaw, and another arrow point was found loose in another skull. There was no doubt, we were now within the limits of the chapel. From the proximity of the skulls, with the human bones found before, and from the knowledge of the general circumstances of the massacre, we felt justified in declaring that both bones and skulls belonged to the same individuals, the nineteen com-

panions of Aulneau and Lavérendrye, and that their bones had been brought to the fort at some later time of which we have no record. True it is, there were not bones enough to rebuild the nineteen skeletons, but we know again from Lavérendrye's journal that only the greater part of the bodies were found after the massacre.

THREE UNSUSPECTED DWELLERS IN THE FORT.

The third and fourth days' work brought to light quite unexpectedly three skeletons, which puzzled us much, and gave rise to many an argument among us. We called them by numbers as we raised them and set them apart. No. 1 was found lying on its left side, one hand under its head and the other over it; all the bones were yet sound and in perfect order. No. 2 was a mere heap of bones gathered in a space of about two feet; they must have been buried there loose and free from all flesh. No. 3 was the skeleton of a child lying on the chest, nothing of the lower limbs being left but a trace of decayed bones at the knees. These three skeletons had evidently been buried at different times, directly in the clay without a coffin, and were found within a radius of about ten feet of each other. It was only some time later, after an examination made of them by experts in anatomy, that we dared to express an opinion as to their identity, that they are likely the remains of some Christian Indians buried there at some unknown date.

THE REMAINS OF AULNEAU AND LAVÉRENDRYE DISCOVERED AT LAST.

We proceeded on slowly in our excavations, moving the whole mass of earth almost inch by inch, to a depth of three feet, within the probable limits of the chapel. The Rev. Father Blain took photographic views of each skeleton as it appeared, and of several other interesting objects, including groups of the explorers, in various odd occupations and manners of dress. The Judge noted down minutely all our proceedings, and the Chancellor looked on interestedly, occasionally handling the



THE SKULLS AS FOUND IN TRENCH.



JAWBONE WITH ARROW.

shovel, and keeping the smudge fires burning. We were not all of one mind as to the identity of the skeletons already found, but I think none felt convinced that we possessed as yet the remains of Aulneau and Lavérendrye. These doubts were to be cleared during the last day's work. In the most northerly part of the chapel, the spade chopped down some rotten wood, and exposed some bones to the light. The ground was carefully removed all around, and we could trace plainly the rotten remains of what had been a wooden box four feet by two feet, enclosing two skeletons lying side by side on the back, and without the skulls. The skeleton to the left, as we looked to the north, was called No. 4; its bones were somewhat in disorder, showing that the corpse had been interred in a mutilated state; for instance, one femur was placed upside down and the hip joint pointing to the feet. The skeleton to the right, No. 5, was in perfect order. Both, however, were cramped into such a small space that the bodies must have been in an advanced state of decomposition when placed in the box in which they were buried. Now this feature tallies perfectly with the circumstances of the massacre and burial of Aulneau and Lavérendrye, as stated above. We must note also, that only these two corpses seem to have been buried with some care, and according to the manner of civilized people, the others lying in odd positions directly in the clay.

WHO IS WHO?

As we went on raising one by one the bones of each skeleton, we watched with great interest for means of identification. With skeleton No. 4 were found two keys well preserved, although rusty. Between the two skeletons, toward the feet, was lying a large pocket-knife, possibly a razor, closed, with a horn handle about six inches long; also an awl with a broken horn handle. Three small arrow points were resting on the vertebral column of skeleton No. 5, about the chest; toward the feet were found a bunch of five keys, a shoe buckle, and fourteen beads of a rosary; later what had been thought a parcel of bone, turned out to be a hook and eye, such as is used to-day by Canadian



Jesuits to fasten their cassock at the neck. The bones of No. 5 were stouter and shorter than those of No. 4 which were slim and long. The expert anatomists, referred to above, declared that skeleton No. 4 belonged to a young man at least twenty years of age, and we know that Jean Lavérendrye was twenty-two years of age. They also declared that the bones of No. 5 were those of a man probably thirty years old, strongly built, and of medium height, and the registers of the Society of Jesus show Rev. Father Aulneau to have been a robust man of thirty-one years at the time of his death. We noticed a deep cut, made with an edged tool, in the sacrum or lower bone of the spinal column of No. 4; now we find in one of the various accounts of the massacre, this detail about young Lavérendrye: his body was found headless, all hacked, lying on the stomach, with a sort of hoe sunk into his loins, whilst the body of Father Aulneau, although headless too, had not been mutilated.

As these various features, circumstances, and testimonies were gathered up, the mists of doubt and hesitation were cleared, and the light of conviction slowly crept into our minds. Finally we all agreed that skeleton No. 4 must be that of Jean Lavérendrye, and skeleton No. 5 that of the Rev. Father Aulneau. Indeed, there was yet a mystery to explain. Why is it that there were no skulls to these skeletons? What had become of the heads of Father Aulneau and of Lavérendrye? We have no positive answer to give to this question, but we may explain away the difficulty in this wise: The expression used by Lavérendrye, the father, when noting down the condition in which the body of his son was found, *that it was headless*, likely means that the head was not found; and as several bodies were missing, it is quite possible that the heads of Aulneau and Lavérendrye were missing also, perhaps carried away by the Sioux as glorious trophies of their signal vengeance on the allies of their enemies. Then again Lavérendrye's disjunctive expressions, "the bodies of Father Aulneau and of my son," and further, "all the heads of the Frenchmen slain," may mean that the bodies were headless and that the heads were not found. However, we feel sure that any one who will weigh carefully the



evidence given above, will find us justified in believing that we have recovered the relics of the Rev. Father Aulneau, and in giving them the honor they deserve.

A FITTING MONUMENT.

Our efforts had been crowned with all possible success; we had finished our task. Before leaving the scene of our labors, we thought proper to mark the spot hallowed by the presence of a martyr's relics for over a century and a half. We therefore fetched the cross which had been placed on the supposed site of the fort on the north side, and raised it on the site of the chapel, with this inscription: "Fort St. Charles, erected in 1732, discovered in 1908." Then we piled up all around it, in the form of a cone, the scattered stones of the main chimney. Finally the party was photographed at the foot of the cross, and after singing the *Magnificat* in thanksgiving, left for home, carrying along their treasures.

THE EXPERT ANATOMISTS' TESTIMONY.

ST. BONIFACE, Aug. 19, 1908.

This is to certify that we have examined the skulls and other bones discovered at the site of Fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods, and are of the opinion that those marked:

No. 1—Are those of a young man, not more than eighteen years of age.

No. 2—Are those of a large, strongly built man, about fifty years of age and from facial angle probably an Indian.

No. 3—Are those of a child about seven years of age.

No. 4—Are those of a young man at least twenty years of age, tall and probably slender.

No. 5—Are those of a man of probably thirty years, strongly built, and of medium height.

GORDON BELL, M.D., C.M.

G. A. DUBUC, M.D.

JAMES PULLAR, M.D., C.M.

JAMES McKENTY, M.D., C.M.

THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN NORTH AMERICA

By S. H. HORGAN

"IN JANUARY, 1639, Daye issued from his press (in Cambridge, Mass.) the first edition of the celebrated 'Bay State Psalm-Book,' which, according to Isaiah Thomas, was the first book printed in North America."

This positive statement is in the books of reference. It is made in papers before Women's Literary Clubs and sometimes turns up in after-dinner speeches. It is not complete, however. This should be added to it: "And for that reason all printers' chapel meetings open and close with a psalm from this book."

We all know the incorrectness of the latter statement; let us inquire into the former, for it has been dignified by appearance in the "Inland Printer," an authoritative publication on printing, in "The Evolution of the Book," by Virginia Fish, page 202, November, 1908.

Investigation shows this to be another instance of what Dom Gasquet found in his researches in the British Museum, that historians like Froude would take down from the Museum archives a roll of Papal Bulls, some of which were genuine and some fraudulent, and in every case print the latter as genuine.

Isaiah Thomas, who is credited with the "Bay State Psalm-Book" myth, wrote a "History of Printing in North America" in two volumes, which was printed in Worcester, Mass., in 1810. On page 232, Vol. I, Thomas tells about the "Bay State Psalm-Book," and quotes the Rev. Thomas Prince of Boston, who published a revised edition of this psalm-book in 1758, in which he gives an account of the first edition. Rev. Mr. Prince says it "had the honor of being the first book printed in North America and, as far as I find, in the whole New World."

Isaiah pounces on this misstatement at once by adding, in a footnote: "The reverend annalist is here in error. Printing

was introduced into Mexico and other Spanish provinces in America many years before the settlement of the English colonies in North America."

W. R. Martin, librarian of the Hispanic Society of America, who is custodian of the great collection of Spanish-American treasures collected by Mr. Archer Huntington, was shown the statement that the first book printed in North America was issued in 1639. In a few minutes he brought in an armful of books printed in Mexico prior to 1600, and showed that the "*Doctrina Christiana*" was the first book. It contained the book plate of the late Canovas del Castillo of Spain, and this colophon on the last page:

"To the honor and praise of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Glorious Holy Virgin, His Mother. That is for which is finished the present treatise. The which was seen and examined and corrected by order of the Rev. Señor and Lord Brother Juan Zummuraga, first Bishop of Mexico, and of the council of His Majesty. It was printed in the great city of Tenochtitlan, of Mexico, of this New Spain. And in the house of Juan Cromberger, by order of the same Señor Bishop Lord Brother Juan Zumaraga and at his cost. The printing was finished on the fourteenth day of June of the year 1544."

As to whether this "*Doctrina Christiana*" was really the first book printed in America the Hon. John Russell Bartlett writes in the Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, 1875:

"Much discussion has taken place as to the earliest book printed in America. For a long time this honor was awarded to the "*Doctrina Christiana*." There is now strong evidence for believing that printing was introduced (into Mexico) nine years before that time, and positive evidence by existing books that a press was established in 1541."

Father Augustin Davila Padilla, in his work, "*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Mexico*" (Madrid, 1625), page 542, says:

"Being in the house of novices, he (Juan de Estrada) did a thing which, being first done by him in this country, was enough to give him fame, if he had not otherwise gained it, as he has, by being what he was.

"The first book that was written in this New World, and the first in which the art of printing was employed, was his work. There was usually given to the novices a book by St. John Climachus. And as it did not exist in our language, he was directed to translate it from the Latin. He did it quickly, and with elegance, for he was an elegant Latin and Spanish scholar. It is an evidence of the devotion of [the province of] San Domingo, of Mexico, that one of her sons was the first who printed in this New World, and that he printed as devout a work as the *Spiritual Ladder* of St. John Climachus."

Mr. Bartlett continues: "Fr. Alonzo Fernandez in his '*Hist. Ecclesiastica*,' 1611, and Gil Gonzales Davila, Madrid, 1649, in his work mentions this '*Escala Spirituel*' as being the first book printed in Mexico. The three writers agree as to the date. The date 1535, given by Gonzales Davila, is evidently wrong. He says Mendoza carried printing into Mexico in 1535, whereas it is a well-known fact that Mendoza was appointed Viceroy in April, 1535, and did not arrive in Mexico until the middle of October in the same year. This date corresponds with that given by Alonzo Fernandez for the introduction of printing."

This first edition of the John Carter Brown Library catalogue contains 302 titles of books printed before 1601 in America. There were seven books printed in Peru prior to 1600. Copies of most of these books are in the Brown library and in the collection of Mr. Archer Huntington of New York, now included in the library of the Hispanic Society of America.

Those who wish to pursue this subject further are advised to consult "*Bibliographia Mexicana del Siglo XVI*," by Juan Garcia Icazbalceta (Mexico, 1886), 423 pp. Part I contains a catalogue of books printed in Mexico from 1539 to 1600, with biographies of the authors and reproductions of the title-pages and cuts used. Some of the latter were beautifully illuminated.

REMINISCENCES OF FATHER DENIS PAUL O'FLYNN

BY VERY REV. CANON SHEEHAN, P.P.,
AUTHOR OF "MY NEW CURATE"

I THINK it was in the autumn of the year 1866, I first became acquainted with Father Denis O'Flynn. I had been at St. Colman's College since the previous spring, and had returned to find a new staff of professors installed in place of those who had been appointed and had served under Dr. Croke; and a totally new class of boys, as most of the ecclesiastical students had left the seminary for the higher colleges. But, although forty years play havoc with reminiscences, they have not dulled the outlines of face and figure, of manner and bearing, of character and conduct, which memory associates with my first impressions of Denis O'Flynn. I remember that he was tall and full-grown, and more mature in appearance and manner than the majority of the students; and I would have taken this as a reason for his sudden assumption of superiority, and of a certain rank and authority, did I not know that this was rather attributable to a certain firmness of character and an insistence on principle at all hazards, which I regard as his leading characteristic. There was a certain seriousness of behavior, that made an infraction of rule, or other youthful misdemeanor, impossible in his presence; and he never hesitated to call to account and reprimand any delinquent who had done wrong in his sight. This would have argued a tendency to priggishness and pride in any one else; but Denis O'Flynn was so thoroughly consistent in his own conduct, that the idea never occurred to anybody. And with that severity of principle, there was combined a sweetness and gentleness, that gave him a protective aspect in the eyes of the junior boys; and gave him as a resultant the right to check indiscretions and reprimand every youthful

truant who might have escaped the eye of the superiors, but could not deceive him.

I well remember in the cold winter season our walks on the terrace of the college, or in the long corridors. Denis O'Flynn was always placed in the center, and with his hands folded in the sleeves of his coat, and his head bent downward, he would argue, reason, expostulate, explain; and there was no demur and no appeal from his opinion. Then, we knew he was one of two or three students who seemed to love the chapel rather than the playground. Every evening after dinner he and another (since gone to rest also) had to be expelled from the college chapel, and driven by the dean perforce into the grounds or alleys. This integrity of character showed itself in another way, namely, in a certain dogged perseverance in his studies. I do not think he was ranked amongst the brilliant students — those who, at a glance, can master a lesson. But he was a student of indomitable perseverance. Whatever he took up, prayer, study, etc., he seemed to throw his whole heart and soul into it. He had a slight labial or dental impediment; and he set himself with all his might to master it; and he succeeded. I remember what an impression the story of Demosthenes and the pebbles made upon him; and although he did not adopt that drastic method of curing his infirmity, it helped him to persevere in the milder ways he had chosen to conquer that first disability. Hence, we came to regard him more as a young professor, than as a student like ourselves; and from his talent for hard work, his great energy and perseverance, and his remarkable piety and conscientiousness of character, we were fond of predicting great things for him in the future that lay before him. I was by no means surprised, therefore, when the report came back from Coutances in the north of France, that Denis O'Flynn had completely mastered the French language after a two-year's residence in that college, and that he had attracted considerable notice there and, I think, in Louvain. Nor was I surprised, when after many years I heard that he had given up his presbytery at Saugerties on the Hudson to a community of nuns whom he had introduced into his parish.

Nor was I surprised when after many more years I heard that his house in New York was besieged by every human wreck and wastrel, the flotsam and jetsam thrown up by the tides and storms of the great city.

Two years ago I saw him once more. He was hardly changed in appearance. In manner, he appeared to have grown more rugged and emphatic. I said to myself, it is the usual hardening and annealing of human character in the *Sturm und Drang* of life. But then I had reason to know very soon after that the sweetness of disposition manifested in early life had also grown into a spirit of self-sacrifice and divine charity that was all-embracing. Just as the determination and inflexible firmness of boyhood had grown into a kind of granite-like power and obstinacy, the sweetness of boyhood had broadened out into a spirit of self-immolation and utter disregard for personal welfare or comfort. A former fellow-student said to me, before I had seen Father O'Flynn: "Have you seen Denis O'Flynn? He is much changed." He did not like the change. We like to retain our boyhood impressions in Ireland. We wonder, and are sometimes disappointed, when we find our old comrades grown to the perfect stature of manhood abroad. But Denis O'Flynn was not changed, except in intensity of purpose and more virile poise and self-reliance. It was more true to say of him, and I place it as the verdict of his whole life: "He was a man who would go to the North Pole for a friend, or mount the scaffold with a smile for the sake of a faith or a principle."

AN INCIDENT OF THE CIVIL WAR

BY REV. WILLIAM A. OLMSTED,

Brigadier-General by Brevet, U. S. Volunteers.

ONE of the incidents of the Civil War which we believe has never been recorded in history is told as follows:

It will be remembered that the "shot that was heard round the world," the firing on Fort Sumter, occurred April 12, 1861. This challenge from the South was answered by President Lincoln's proclamation issued the following day, April 13, calling for troops for the defence of the Union. At that time the United States Military Department of the East, with headquarters at Troy, was in command of General John E. Wool, U.S.A. The President's proclamation was ready to be published and it was intended to publish it on April 13, 1861, the day of its date, which was Saturday, but, considering that ill use might be made of the Sunday intervening by persons disaffected to the Government, it was decided at Washington to defer the promulgation of the proclamation until the Monday following, April 15. The news of the proclamation had been communicated, however, in advance to the various military departments of the North, including the department in charge of General Wool at Troy, and was known to certain members of his staff who were in charge of military affairs, the General himself then being detained at home by illness. One of these confidential attachés was Major D——, by birth a Virginian, and, as events showed, a sympathizer with his native State. Possessed in this confidential way of the knowledge of the intended proclamation, Major D—— conceived the idea of serving the South thuswise:

There was at this time in the Watervliet arsenal, just outside the limits of the City of Troy, a machine for punching bullets out of cold lead, the only machine of its kind in the

country. That it would be a valuable addition to the military resources of the South in the impending struggle, Major D—— had no doubt.

He accordingly planned to take possession forcibly of this machine on the following day, Sunday, April 14, and to have it removed from the arsenal and shipped to some place under the control of the Confederate Government, and to accomplish this in advance of the publication of the proclamation.

At this time the people in Troy were about equally divided in sentiment toward the Government and its war measures. There was a large force of men employed in the nail-making industry carried on in the shops of Burden & Co., and Corning and Winslow, many of whom were known to be in sympathy with the South. Major D—— applied to some of these to aid him in his efforts to secure the machine, and their help had been promised. Other men, employees of the gas works, had also been induced to join the party. The superintendent of the yard called on the general superintendent of the gas company and stated the situation. The latter suggested that the matter be left with him for consideration. In the evening he, with the Mayor, Mr. Van Alstyne, and Mr. Hamilton Green, one of Troy's best citizens, called on Father Peter Havermans, then pastor of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, at his residence, their purpose being to take counsel as to the best means to be adopted to defeat the disloyal proceeding which Major D—— had planned. Even at that time Father Havermans' name and reputation as the "Apostle of Catholicity" in Troy were well known and his character as a whole-souled priest and patriotic citizen had earned him the respect and admiration of the entire community. Many of the nail-makers were Catholics and it was rightly believed by the gentlemen who called on Father Havermans that his moral influence would count for a great deal in preventing any demonstration by the men contrary to their duty as loyal citizens.

The matter was left in the hands of Father Havermans and he assured the committee that he would intervene, and if possible, prevent the men from aiding Major D—— in his scheme.

That night he procured a large American flag and had this swung from the window in the steeple of his church just below the cross, where at daylight next morning, Sunday, it met the gaze of the people at Troy and cheered the hearts of its loyal citizens. He had prepared to halt and address the men who were expected to march past the church on their way to the arsenal. The men had assembled that Sunday morning and had started on the march to the arsenal. As their leader saw the flag floating from the church tower he called to the men and shouted, "The old man is in it," meaning that Father Havermans had been made aware of the plot and had ranged himself on the side of the Union and that they must reckon upon his opposition to the treasonable effort then being attempted. There was a hurried parleying among the men, the party was broken up, and the intended attack on the arsenal was abandoned.

This American flag was raised on St. Mary's Church during the night of April 13, 1861.

We are aware that a flag was floated from the spire of the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Brooklyn, N. Y., by its pastor, the late Rev. Sylvester Malone, and that this occurred soon after the news of the firing on Fort Sumter had reached New York, but we have always maintained that Father Havermans was earlier in the field, and that "Old Glory" flying from the steeple of his church in Troy was the first American flag that was thrown to the breeze from any Catholic church during the Civil War.

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA

VOLUMES II, III, IV.

THE nineteenth century, it may be fairly said, amongst other claims to distinction deserves notice in that it was prolific in the production of the class of works called encyclopedias. They were supposed to furnish a royal road to information, if not to knowledge. With the coming of the twentieth century it can scarcely be maintained that the demand for them has abated. In the meantime, however, an important qualification of the intellectual activity of the age is to be reckoned with. This tendency, now become everywhere rampant, is specialization. Men are realizing more and more acutely that even with indefatigable industry and enormous erudition, accuracy and trustworthiness are only to be had by restricting the area of one's inquiry. The treatise *de omni re scibili* has quite gone out of fashion. So it happens that apart from many other and very much better reasons there is a perfectly adequate justification for the making of a work such as that whose title heads this notice. Since the review of the first volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia in the last issue of RECORDS AND STUDIES three additional volumes have appeared and a fifth is well under way. This, considering the character of the book, the large and constantly increasing corps of writers laid under contribution to fill its pages, and the difficulties obviously incident to its editing, is a very notable achievement indeed and the editors ought to be fervently congratulated. Nor has this speed of performance detracted one whit from the high degree of excellence of which the first volume gave proof, while exhibiting promise of further realization. As a matter of fact, there is constantly being maintained such a dignified tone, such a serene and impartial temper as to elicit, in spite of the necessarily controversial nature of many of the questions considered, the most

unfeigned admiration and heartiest commendation from all sides. No one keeping the scope of the work in mind can complain of jejuneness in the treatment of the various subjects. The information is as far as possible abundant and satisfying and interestingly presented. The discussions, where they are required, are sober, the expositions clear, the narrations succinct. No expense seems to have been spared so far as the mechanical making of the Encyclopedia is concerned. The paper and type are of the very best, whilst the binding, as was to have been desired in a reference work of this sort, is of tested durability. The half-tone maps and illustrations, as well as the extremely fine color prints, have been carefully chosen and splendidly executed.

In spite of the unequivocal approval conferred upon the Encyclopedia by the highest ecclesiastical authority, a curious story went the rounds last year that the enterprise had been condemned at Rome as savoring in some of its articles of Modernism or what not. It is not worth while here and now to ask whether this wives' tale was the product of malice or ignorance. What is immensely more to the point and offers matter for profound thanksgiving is that it was at once and authoritatively discredited in such a way as to leave no chance for its resuscitation. It would have been a thousand pities if the progress of the Encyclopedia had been even momentarily retarded by the dissemination of so silly a fabrication. Meantime, as the volumes have been published they have received the most flattering indorsements whether from the press or persons whose position and attainments enabled them to pronounce decisively upon the value of the book. Periodicals like the "Dublin Review," papers so little to be suspected of tenderness for things Catholic as the "London Times," men eminent in Church and State, from the Holy Father down, all attest the broad scholarship, the painstaking research, the moderate statement, and widely ranging usefulness of the Encyclopedia.

Although the work is, so far as its contributors and subscribers are concerned, international, still its editors have not been willing to forget that it is, so to speak, *titulo originis et*

domicilii, American. Consequently American Catholic topics have been dealt with very fully and by those invested with a special competency to set down the data required. In a cursory glance through its pages our attention is arrested by such titles as Baltimore, Buffalo, Brownson, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Delaware, Detroit, etc. In the fourth volume the value of the list of contributors is much enhanced by appending after the name of each writer the article or articles to be credited to his authorship. It is comforting to know that the Encyclopedia counts thus far some 13,000 subscribers. Truly this is an imposing army, but it ought and we hope it will be very much larger. No intelligent English-speaking Catholic who can at all procure the work ought to hesitate to subscribe to it. It certainly is in no newspaper sense, but in all actual and literal truth, an epoch-making book for all of us of the Catholic faith and English tongue.

JOSEPH F. DELANY, D.D.

HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN NORTH AMERICA, COLONIAL AND FEDERAL

By THOMAS HUGHES of the same Society.

Vol I. From the Colonization to 1645. 8vo. Cleveland, The Burrowes Bros. Co. London and New York. Longmans, Green & Co. 1907.

LIKE several other ecclesiastical Orders, the Society of Jesus is at present publishing its annals, from the foundation of the Order. The undertaking is intended to be complete, covering the history of the Order in every country where it was established and including every land where Jesuit missionaries have gone to preach the Gospel to the infidel.

The best scholars and most able writers among the members of the Society have been selected to do this work. The story of the Jesuits in each country is to be written in the language of that country, by some prominent member of the Order whose name is a guarantee of the scholarly character of his work. In Germany, for instance, Father B. Duhr has already published the first volume of the history of the Jesuits in that country, which has been received with much favor not only by the Catholic but also by the non-Catholic critics. Similar works are in preparation for England, Italy, France, and Spain. The work whose title is given above is the opening volume of this official history of the Society of Jesus in North America. Its author, Father Hughes, is well known in the United States, where he resided for a number of years and where he has published several books and many articles bearing on the history of the Society. Like his confrères, Father Hughes means to give us a work which will be up to date in every sense of the word. He follows the latest and most approved methods of historical research and criticism. Neither labor nor expense has been spared by him in order to produce an exhaustive history based not only on printed but also on manuscript authority.

How thoroughly our author has carried out his task appears from a mere glance at the volume before us. One hundred and thirty-eight pages are devoted to an account of the sources from which he has drawn his facts. Fifty archives, public and private, in Europe and America have been searched by him for documentary evidence, not to speak of the many libraries and lesser collections in this country which have furnished him information. All the American, Canadian, and English government publications have been laid under contribution and it is no exaggeration to say that he has scanned hundreds of thousands of pages to secure completeness and thoroughness. Lastly, the character of the several archives is investigated and the trustworthiness of the more important documents and the method of their composition are carefully set down. Of course, we can not, within the limits of this short notice, spread before our readers the result of all these labors and studies. Suffice it to say that the volume is far from being a mere family history or a series of biographical portraits. The religious history of England after the Reformation, or to speak more precisely, during the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign and the reigns of James I and Charles I up to the year 1645, is illustrated in the early chapters. We meet with a fuller account of Lord Baltimore's first attempt at colonization in Newfoundland than we have seen before. Of course the early history of the Maryland mission of the Jesuits is the principal subject of the volume and in connection with this the writer presents to us in vivid colors and at full length his estimate of Lord George and Cecilius Calvert. In the case of the latter, Father Hughes does not agree with the favorable opinion held by most American writers, both Catholic and non-Catholic, concerning the second Lord Baltimore. Not that the volume brings us many novel facts radically differing from the information at the disposal of former historians; the difference is one of judgment and interpretation. It may perhaps be said that both Father Hughes and the eulogizers of Cecilius Calvert were partly right. At all events the question would require too much space for present treatment.

Father Hughes is a skillful writer, clear and vigorous; perhaps he is too much given to irony, which used excessively suggests bias. The studious care, the laborious researches, and the frank display of evidence which is characteristic of the volume and the great mass of new information it contains has met with recognition both here and in Europe. Zarncke's *Literaturblatt*, one of the foremost critical periodicals in Germany, while touching on no controversies has spared no words of commendation. The historical faculty of Columbia College has awarded a prize to its author. We are confident that the same industry and frankness which we have noted in this volume will characterize the coming ones.

We must not omit to say that the history proper is accompanied by a volume of historical documents and *pièces justificatives*, which greatly add to the value of the work as a whole.

C. G. H.

PIONEER PRIESTS OF NORTH AMERICA (1642-1710)

BY THE REV. T. J. CAMPBELL, S.J.

Fordham University Press. Fordham University. 1908.

A STRIKING trait of historical studies within the last decade is the interest aroused by the American Colonial period. Students in England and America are realizing the truth that this period is to a great extent unknown ground awaiting the exploration of the modern historian with his new methods of scientific research. Facts thoroughly authenticated form the only basis of a history; and these facts include not only dates and the names of prominent men, but, more important still, the habits, customs, and institutions of the people. The work of collecting such data is being prosecuted with energy and intelligence not only by individuals but especially by the ever-increasing number of historical societies either voluntary or maintained by appropriations from various departments of the Government.

America has grown into a great nation, more powerful in natural resources, in commerce, in wealth, in the consciousness of freedom, than any nation on the earth. The American people to-day are an amalgamation of many distinct national types from central, western, and southern Europe. What they are to-day, they have been in every stage of their past history. Yet as a people they possess a national life and character distinct from any of their constituent elements. This consciousness of a distinct national life gives a vantage-ground, and the consciousness of a great and wealthy world-power gives an incentive for a free and critical study of the peoples, persons, and events which figure largely in the formation period, from its first permanent settlements to the Declaration of Independence.

From the landing of Columbus to the birth of the United States as a nation, nearly 300 years had elapsed. During this

time the Atlantic seaboard had been colonized by English, Dutch, Irish, Scotch, and Scandinavian immigrants. Florida on the south had Spanish settlements, while to the north Canada was known as New France. Hardy explorers had penetrated into the middle-west. It was a period rich with tales of individual courage, but richer still in the history of institutions, whether of settlement or of colony, which in time developed into the American constitution — the greatest framework of political liberty the world has yet seen.

With these studies our knowledge of the American people and of the development of American institutions has broadened. The time has passed when we looked on New England as the sole birthplace of American free government. Lord Baltimore in Maryland first unfurled the standard of religious liberty, which is a priceless jewel in the crown of American freedom. The "Charter of Liberties" passed in 1683 by the first representative assembly of New York Province is the greatest constitutional document of American Colonial history. Its framer, Governor Thomas Dongan — but recently recovered from oblivion — is now considered one of the greatest constructive statesmen sent by England to govern any of her American colonies. The truth is forced upon the mind that American liberty did not spring into existence in full possession of its strength like the goddess of Greek mythology, but it matured after the gradual development of years from origins hidden in the constituent principles which gave form to the early stages of the Colonies.

Father Campbell's book is the latest word on the Colonial period. It is all the more welcome because it deals exclusively with the work of the early missions. A member of the Society of Jesus, Father Campbell naturally confines himself to the Jesuit missionaries. Throughout he shows the severe, calm spirit of the scientific historian. As a historical treatise, the work is superior to Parkman's "Jesuits in North America," for it has not the preconceived bias of the latter, reveals more sympathy and insight, and breathes a freer, clearer intellectual atmosphere.

As a background Father Campbell presents the Iroquois Confederacy — the most remarkable savage nation of North America — with their government, customs, personal traits, and military organization, which made them dreaded from Quebec to Virginia, from the settlements at Boston to the Mississippi River. The materials for this picture are drawn from the "Jesuit Relations." He tells, in their own words, the labors of the pioneer priests to implant in the hearts of these savages the saving truths of Christianity. Their lives are examples of heroic courage, yet strange to say practically unknown. Like a voice from the past we hear them narrate how "they lived on Indian corn and water, sleeping on rocks and in the woods, or making their beds in snow, paddling day after day against a rapid current, dragging heavy burdens over long portages amid constant danger from hostile Indians," and the heroic deaths of their companions, after the most cruel tortures savage ingenuity could devise. The saintly Father Jogues was the builder of the Fort Sainte Marie on the river flowing into Georgian Bay, a *central* home for missionaries, which Parkman calls "the savage outpost of the world." He was the first white man to stand on the shores of Lake Superior and founded the mission of Sault Ste. Marie, now a great center of commerce. Taken prisoner by the Iroquois in a battle near Three-Rivers in 1642, he first entered the Mohawk country as a captive and here afterward met a martyr's death. Of him the Protestant Bishop Kip writes: "So died one of that glorious band that had shown greater devotion in the cause of Christianity than has ever been seen since the days of the apostles; men whose lives and sufferings reveal a story more touching and pathetic than anything in the records of our country and whose names should ever be kept in grateful remembrance." Again we read a narrative of Father Bressani written with but one finger of his right hand remaining. Jogues, Bressani, Poncet, Le Moyne, Dablon, Chaumonot, Ragueneau, Ménard, Frémin, Bruyas, Pierron, the de Lambervilles, Millet, de Carheil, Raffeix, Boniface, Garnier — not a single one of that loyal band ever faltered.

An interesting sidelight on the difficulties the missionaries

experienced is shown in the rashness of De La Barre and the treachery of De Nouville, the French Governors of Canada. Probably Governor Dongan, through his long service in the French army, well knew these men. This may also explain why Dongan sent the strong petition to King James in 1686 asking for the establishment of a central home for English Jesuit missionaries on the site now occupied by the village of Saratoga.

An important factor in the lives of these pioneer priests is their intellectual activity. Amid their arduous labors they found time to write letters to their Superiors in France, which united into a collection are known as the "Jesuit Relations" — the most complete and authoritative exposition of aboriginal Indian life we possess to-day. Father Bruyas is one of the oldest and foremost authorities on Mohawk philology. His "Grammar" is the oldest known work of its kind, and was published from the original manuscript by the Regents of the University of the State of New York. His "Mohawk Roots" are still in manuscript.

The American reading public owes thanks to Father Campbell for this book. He has shown that America has its glorious chapter in the Ages of Faith. As we finish its reading, the words of Parkman, on the founding of Montreal, come to our mind: "Is this history, or the romance of chivalry? It is both."

JOHN T. DRISCOLL, S.T.L.

JAHRBUCH DER ZEIT UND KULTURGESCHICHTE

1907. VOLUME I.

Edited by DR. FRANZ SOHNÜREER, Freiburg i. Breisgau.

HERDER.

OUR readers may be surprised to find here a notice of this German year-book for the year 1907, published by the well-known firm of Herder. But though the book is published in Germany and in the German language its interests are not exclusively German. As its title promises, the work gives us a record of literature and events of the year 1907, extending its purview far beyond the Fatherland to everything that is Catholic and interests Catholics. For instance, it tells us of the ten thousands of conversions that took place in 1907 in the western part of the Russian Empire, showing that the constitution of the Emperor Nicholas was not entirely a paper document. Catholic interests in France receive the attention they deserve, and we learn of the development and struggles of the Church there under the new conditions ushered in by the separation laws. Our own country is not forgotten. We read of the Catholic conventions held during the year and of the appearance of Volumes I and II of the Catholic Encyclopedia, which receives a highly favorable appreciation. Besides the historical review of the year we find a dated chronicle of important events throughout the world, including all Catholic happenings of importance. It also brings us a personal chronicle and an obituary differing from similar records, by noticing the doings and deaths of prominent Catholic prelates and laymen. Of course, Germany receives more attention than the rest of the world, but this was to be expected. At all events, this new enterprise of the Herder firm is to be welcomed by Catholic writers and by the Catholic general reader, because so far as we know the living matter here put together can be

found nowhere else. We have experienced more than once that it is more difficult to ascertain facts comparatively recent than those that date further back.

The title promises not only a record of facts but also a literary record and the book keeps its promise, at least so far as Germany is concerned. The theological literature of the year receives the lion's share of the literary criticism. Few of the more important German works by Catholic authors issued in 1907 fail to receive a notice, brief in most cases, but sufficient to give the reader an idea of the character and value of the work. At times French and Italian books that are especially entitled to notice meet with proper appreciation. But while theology holds the first place, other sciences are not neglected. In fact the variety of intellectual fare here set before the reader is almost bewildering; philosophy, political and social science, the classics, philology, law, and history are all treated with sufficient fulness to enable the reader to follow the work done in each respectively and to guide himself in the purchase of the most useful books. Nor is German literature forgotten. We have articles on epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry, as well as on the best novels, especially those by Catholic authors. Art, too, receives due attention. In short, the progress in every branch of human knowledge, outside of the mathematical and physical sciences, is carefully recorded.

The articles, without exception, are well written, both as to matter and style. The names of many of the writers are known far beyond the confines of Germany. The report on the civil and religious progress in Germany, *e. g.*, is written by Prof. Kirsch, the well-known editor of the second edition of Hergenröther's Church History, while a similar report on Austria has for author Prof. Schindler, of the University of Vienna. Political and social science and art are discussed by two professors of the University of Munich, Walther and Leitschuh, and the veteran Tony Keller writes upon the German press, discussing not only its changes and progress, but also practical measures necessary to secure still more marked success. The same practical spirit is evidenced by Dr. Joseph Sprengler, the dramatic

critic who dwells upon the neglect of the drama by Catholic poets and asks the question whether Catholics should not turn to their own account so important a means of reaching the minds and hearts of the people as the stage furnishes.

In conclusion, I may add, that the Herders have published for some years back a scientific annual under the editorship of Dr. Max Wildermann which has eminently fulfilled its purpose and met with considerable success.

C. G. H.

**LIFE AND LETTERS OF HENRY VAN RENSSELAER,
PRIEST OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS**

Edited by **EDWARD P. SPILLANE, S.J.**

Illustrated. Small 8vo. New York. Published by the
Fordham University Press, 1908.

THIS book, by one of our members and contributors, is a credit both to the author and to the Fordham University Press, of which it is one of the first productions. It is a taking volume in every sense, the press work is good and the illustrations are interesting. Above all, the story of Father Van Rensselaer's life and the attractive manner in which Father Spillane recounts it ought to make the volume welcome in every Catholic library.

To New Yorkers, Father Henry Van Rensselaer needs no introduction. For many years his handsome figure has been familiar not only to the students of St. Francis Xavier's College, the members of the Xavier Club, and the attendants of St. Francis Xavier's Church, but to the plain and humble folk in the lower part of the Metropolis. This scion of the Knickerbockers made it his special mission to guide and instruct the humble of Christ's flock. His labors were devoted to the young men and to the working men of every degree. He was the founder of the Xavier Club, whose athletic champions brought home many a prize and many a medal. He was the fireman's friend, and the car-conductor's guide. More than once he was known to have heard a conductor's confession, standing alongside of him on the platform of the car. This interesting hunter of souls had an interesting history and interestingly has Father Spillane told the story of his career from his childhood in the old Van Rensselaer home through the days of his Episcopalian seminary experiences, to his conversion and his entrance into the Society of Jesus.

What makes the story still more attractive is the fact that the greater part of it is directly drawn from Father Van Rensselaer's letters and from an autobiographical diary, of which the author has made the most telling use. The psychological picture, therefore, of Father Van Rensselaer's conversion is a direct photograph which can not fail to impress us as truthful and which certainly gives us the soul portrait of a winning character.

To any of our readers who desire to spend their leisure time both usefully and agreeably, we warmly recommend Father Spillane's book. It is an interesting chapter in the story of American converts.

C. G. H.

**CATHOLIC FOOTSTEPS IN OLD NEW YORK,
A CHRONICLE OF CATHOLICITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
FROM 1524 TO 1808**

By **WILLIAM HARPER BENNETT,**
Published by **SCHWARTZ, KIRWIN AND FAUSS.**

UNDER this title, Mr. Bennett, who is a member of the United States Catholic Historical Society, offers us a volume containing much more than we are lead to expect. Catholics were rare in New York during the period dealt with in our book. In 1808, the Catholic Church was just organized in the Metropolis. St. Peter's was the only edifice dedicated to Catholic worship. The Bishop of Baltimore still ruled the faithful from Florida to Maine. Mr. Bennett has spared no pains to look up the scattered traces of Catholics and Catholic activity during this early period. He recites the story of the discovery of the Hudson River and the Island of Manhattan by Verrazzano, of the visits of Fathers Jogues and Le Moyne to New Amsterdam, the tale of Governor Dongan's activity and difficulties. We learn of the Catholic emigrants from the Palatinate, who were brought here as persecuted Protestants; of imaginary "papist" plots, of many Frenchmen and Spaniards captured by English pirates and sold into slavery at New York, of the Acadians who were transported here, of the Catholics who fought for American independence and against it. In his last chapter the author repeats the now familiar story of the origin of the Catholic Church after the Revolution.

The narrative, moreover, includes what is practically the history of Colonial New York. The book is intended to be popular and offers to its readers much that is of interest not only to Catholics but to every New Yorker. The writer tells his tale in clear and fluent language which at times has a tendency to become ornate. At times, also, he displays an inclination to expand his subject beyond its natural limits. The volume closes with a full bibliography.

C. G. H.

NECROLOGY.

BISHOP TIERNEY.

RIGHT Reverend Michael Tierney, sixth bishop of Hartford, ended his singularly meritorious career in his episcopal city on October 5, 1908. His ecclesiastical life embraced forty-two years of arduous labor, twenty-seven of which were spent as priest, and fifteen as bishop. In each capacity he distinguished himself by varied and lasting achievements. He was pre-eminently a builder and much of his strength was spent in actually presiding over the erection of ecclesiastical edifices. He was for many years a familiar figure throughout Connecticut. His death leaves a notable void both in the religious and civil life of the State.

The future bishop was born in county Tipperary, Ireland, early in September, 1839. He was the third of seven children born to John and Judith Tierney. Bereft of husband while her family was still young, Mrs. Tierney emigrated to America and made her home at Norwalk, Conn. The children for a time attended the public school, but ere long Michael entered the law office of Governor Clark Bissell of Norwalk. Evincing an inclination to the priesthood, the boy was subsequently sent to St. Thomas' Preparatory Seminary at Bardstown, Ky. There he quickly distinguished himself for earnest piety and untiring industry, and won golden opinions both from his masters and from his fellow students. On completing his classical studies the young Bardstown graduate entered the Grand Seminary at Montreal. While engaged in his theological studies in Canada, St. Joseph's Seminary was opened at Troy, N. Y. As the Bishop of Hartford was one of the joint founders of that institution he immediately transferred his students to the new seminary. Michael Tierney was among the number and was one of the first to take residence at Troy. His priestly training

was completed with the class of 1866. He was ordained at Albany by Bishop Conroy on May 26 of that year.

Immediately after his ordination Father Tierney was appointed chancellor of the diocese of Hartford and rector of Sts. Peter and Paul Cathedral, Providence, R. I., where the bishop of Hartford then resided. From the first days of his priestly life he betrayed an absorbing zeal for the welfare of souls. He was active in temperance movements and under his immediate direction the Christian Brothers' school was erected. After a few years he received his first appointment to a Connecticut pastorate. He remained in charge of St. Patrick's parish, Norwich, until May, 1872, when he was transferred to St. Mary's Church, New London. The task which confronted him in his new parish was disheartening in the extreme. The magnificent church which the people had erected at great sacrifice had, on the eve of its completion, almost completely fallen to the ground. The stoutest hearts were shaken. It required a man of fortitude and faith to undertake the rebuilding of the ruined structure, and Father Tierney was rightly judged to be the man for the crisis. In the course of a few months he succeeded in reviving the courage of the people and rebuilding their beautiful church. The people of New London are justly proud of the splendid granite temple which they have erected to the honor and glory of God, and the name of Father Tierney is identified with the completion of the noble work.

On February 1, 1874, the zealous New London pastor was transferred to Stamford, there again to become absorbed in the erection of a magnificent granite church. After three years of incessant toil he was transferred to the pastorate of St. Peter's Church, Hartford, where he erected a convent, and renovated and enlarged the parochial school. His activity and success in the difficult tasks that had been assigned him, marked him as a man of rare efficiency. While at St. Peter's he superintended the erection of the great walls of St. Joseph's cathedral, his experience in church building proving of especial value to the bishop. In June, 1883, Father Tierney entered upon an eleven years' pastorate at St. Mary's, New Britain. Hardly had he

established himself in his new home when he began to address himself to the now familiar task of church building. St. Mary's Church rose literally stone by stone under his tireless vigilance. No sooner was the fine edifice completed than he was named Bishop of Hartford — a fitting reward, indeed, for his industry and success, but also the beginning of what proved to be a new era of building.

Right Reverend Michael Tierney was consecrated Bishop of Hartford on February 22, 1894. At that date there were ninety-eight parishes in the diocese, and 204 priests were laboring throughout the State. On the day of his death the parishes of the State numbered 167, and the clerical body had grown to 342. During the fourteen years of his episcopate the Religious women of the State increased from 513 to 1,238. Bishop Tierney was always a devout believer in the parochial schools. Under him those of the diocese of Hartford increased from forty-eight to eighty, and when he died more than 33,000 children were receiving their education under Catholic influences. The charitable and educational institutions erected under Bishop Tierney's immediate direction are numerous enough to win for him a distinguished place among the great churchmen of the country. Proceeding in order of time, we might name St. Mary's Home for the Aged in West Hartford, St. Thomas' Seminary, St. Francis' Hospital, The House of the Good Shepherd, the Convent of Mary Immaculate, the Working Girls' Home, St. Joseph's Seminary — all situated within the confines of his episcopal city, and all edifices of ample proportion and stately architecture. During the two years immediately preceding his death, the tireless prelate was engaged in the erection of an industrial school for boys. He built entirely at his own cost a magnificent stone structure which will stand for centuries as a monument to his charity. This building crowns one of the hills of the lower Connecticut valley and commands a view of unrivalled beauty.

It should not be supposed, however, that Bishop Tierney's time was entirely absorbed in providing material buildings for the worship of God and the prosecution of charitable and edu-

cational works. He found time to visit and revisit every parish in his diocese. He made it a point to present himself in every room of every parochial school in Connecticut at least once a year. The children of the diocese knew him and cherished him as an interested and loving father. On his confirmation tours he administered the pledge to 85,000 of the youth of the State. Following his direction, this army of the rising Church solemnly engaged themselves to abstain from intoxicating drinks until they attained to the age of twenty-five. No other man ever did so much to promote the cause of total abstinence in Connecticut.

Bishop Tierney was a man of rare piety. He rose at five in the morning, and ended his devotions at half-past seven. He was affable, approachable, and exceedingly thoughtful of the comfort and well-being of others. He was especially devoted to the sick, visiting the hospital daily when at home, and contributing with munificence to the relief of the suffering. His preaching was direct and paternal, the outgiving of one conscious of his vocation to be a teacher in Israel. The death of Bishop Tierney was the occasion of a great outpouring of sympathy. The press and the Protestant pulpit were emphatic in declaring his passing to be a distinct loss to the whole community. He was a man devoured with zeal for the house of the Lord. For years he was a member of the United States Catholic Historical Society.

REV. THOMAS S. DUGGAN.

HUGH KELLY.

IN MR. HUGH KELLY, who died Oct. 30, 1908, the United States Catholic Historical Society has lost one of its oldest members and most efficient officers. Greatly interested in all that concerned Catholic life and work he labored strenuously for the welfare of Catholicity and had a prominent share in its success. He was deeply impressed with the importance of handing down to future generations the story of the toil and struggles of the Catholic Church during its infancy and growth in the United States and his sympathetic figure was rarely missed at our meetings. But it was not for the Catholic Historical So-



MR. HUGH KELLY.



ciety only that his enthusiastic efforts were unstintingly given. Wherever he could help to promote the interests of Catholicity, whether in his parish or in Catholic societies, whether in private or in public, he was a devoted and generous worker for the cause of religion.

A man who by his own efforts rose to a prominent position in business and society, his ability and his industry, his conscientiousness and his honesty, secured the respect of his fellow citizens, not only for himself and his family but also for the Catholic cause of which he was so worthy a representative. In briefly sketching the story of his life, therefore, we feel that we are not only honoring a gentleman worthy of our esteem but that we are also making a contribution to the history of Catholicity in our metropolis and our country. If the Catholic Church has made gigantic advances in the United States, her progress is in no slight degree due to the exemplary life and the loyal work of men such as Mr. Kelly. To preserve this memory is to honor ourselves and to encourage those that come after us.

Hugh Kelly was born at 59 So. Wells Street, Chicago, Ill., September 24, 1858. He was the son of worthy parents whose example was an inspiration to their children. When still an infant, in 1860, the family removed to New York, which was destined to be his home for the rest of his life. His parents anxiously looked after his religious and moral education and from early childhood he accompanied them to church on Sundays and faithfully attended Sunday-school. In the public school to which he was sent at an early age he soon distinguished himself by his remarkable talent and he was only eleven years old when he successfully passed the entrance examination for the College of the City of New York. It was there that the present writer first became acquainted with little Hugh Kelly, the youngest boy that entered the college in 1869. As a student he exhibited all the qualities which distinguished him in after-life. He was bright — standing at the head of his class; dutiful — never failing to do the work assigned to him; sympathetic — attracting the good will and friendship of his classmates; upright and industrious — winning the respect and love of his

teachers. He seemed to be marked out for a distinguished academic career, but Providence had other designs on him. He had hardly finished his second collegiate year when an accident incapacitated his father for further work and Hugh left college in order to take part in the struggle for life.

The bright, attractive lad found no difficulty in obtaining employment, and good fortune attended him from the beginning. He secured a place in a Spanish-American house in which he remained for twelve years, enjoying the favor and confidence of his employers. The firm name changed from Gomez and Monjo to Gomez Rionda and Co., and then to Rionda, Benjamin and Co., until in April, 1883, Mr. Kelly himself became the partner of Mr. Manuel Rionda in the house in which he had served his apprenticeship. The firm was engaged in the West India trade and most of its customers naturally were Spaniards or Spanish-Americans. Young Hugh had been only a short time in business when with open-eyed intelligence he saw that nothing would aid his progress more than a knowledge of the Spanish language. This language attracted his attention by its euphony and his interest by its resemblance to the Latin which he had studied at City College. He set to work, teaching himself partly with the help of books and partly by conversation with his fellow clerks, until he acquired a fairly good mastery of the language. Everybody in the house knew of this except the head of the firm. Mr. Kelly, many years later, told me with great glee how the old gentleman was surprised when he found out the truth. A gentleman who did not know a word of English payed a visit to the head of the firm and asked him to give him a guide to a friend in Chambers Street. No one was available except young Hugh, who the stranger was told did not know any Spanish but was thoroughly reliable. The young pilot, however, who had heard this remark, was hardly on the street when he addressed his protégé in the most fluent Spanish, much to the latter's surprise. On his return Hugh's employer heard of the young clerk's accomplishment and was so delighted that he immediately increased his salary. Hereafter Hugh was his favorite.

Mr. Kelly, we may add, never lost his love of the Spanish tongue and became such a master of it that he could deliver an extemporaneous address with equal fluency in Spanish and in English, while his accent was absolutely perfect. With Señor Rionda, Mr. Kelly was only in business for one year when in 1884 he associated himself with Mr. Franklin Farrel of Ansonia, Conn., as special partner and founded the firm of Hugh Kelly (Oct. 10, 1884).

As we have said, Mr. Kelly embarked in the West India trade, that is to say principally in the manufacture and raising of cane sugar on the Islands of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo. In the course of time he became well acquainted with the machinery required for the manufacture of sugar and erected many of the largest sugar factories in the West Indies. The "Louisiana Planter" of August 29, 1908, names seven large factories manufacturing from 100,000 to 350,000 bags of sugar weighing 320 pounds a piece per year, and it is said that no better working machinery was to be found in the Antilles. He also became an expert in cane sugar, whose opinion was quoted as authoritative in sugar business circles. In addition to his work in the manufacturing of sugar, he also became interested in other West India products, especially in fruit. For a number of years previous to his death he was a director of the United Fruit Company and when not on the wing in Cuba or in Europe he made weekly excursions from his home to Boston and Philadelphia to attend to his duties as director in the Fruit Company. His large and extensive interests in the West Indies made him a frequent visitor to Cuba and the neighboring islands. At Havana he established a branch office which partly directed his mercantile, industrial, and engineering enterprises in the West Indies. During his numerous trips to the Antilles, not only the mercantile but also the social and political condition of Cuba became thoroughly known to him and he was as popular a figure in the clubs in and outside of Havana as he was in New York. This thorough acquaintance and his recognized sagacity and probity lead to his being frequently consulted on Cuban affairs during the disturbances in Cuba before the

Spanish-American War as well as after the establishment of the Cuban Republic. He had the confidence of Presidents Harrison, McKinley, and Roosevelt.

While his interests and influence in the West Indies were thus growing more and more extensive, Mr. Kelly also became more and more prominent in New York financial, social, and religious circles. In 1887 he was elected a director of the Seventh National Bank, in 1891 of the Third National Bank, in 1899 of the North American Trust Company, and in 1900 of the City Trust Company; in 1897 he was chosen a trustee of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank. In all these institutions he proved himself an energetic, wise, and far-sighted official. When the Seventh National Bank merged into the Oriental Bank he became a member of its Board of Direction.

His large shipping business brought him into connection with the Maritime Exchange of the Port of New York, in which he served as Director, Chairman of the Executive Council, Acting Treasurer and Vice-President from 1891-1896, when he was elected President and held that office for two years. His efficiency in these places of trust attracted the attention of Governor Black who in 1898 appointed him New York State Commerce Commissioner. This position he held both under Governor Black (1898-1900) and afterward under Governor Roosevelt.

Mr. Kelly, who had always displayed an intelligent interest in public education, was appointed School Commissioner in our city and a trustee of the City and Normal Colleges by Mayor Strong (1895-1898). Notwithstanding his manifold mercantile engagements, he proved himself an active member of the school board of which he soon became the most influential Catholic member. Though by no means always in harmony with the ruling element of the board, his words were always listened to with attention and respect and sometimes modified the measures to which he took exception. Here, as elsewhere, he made no secret of his religious convictions and never hesitated to protest against what he considered narrow-mindedness and injustice. Withal, he was one of the most popular commis-

sioners not only among his colleagues of the board but equally and perhaps more so among the teachers of the great metropolitan school system. His affable, winning ways and his ready sympathy with struggling talent gained him the hearts of the teaching body, both Catholic and non-Catholic. Long after his resignation in 1898, under Mayor Van Wyck, he was often a guest at the meetings and banquets of the various educational societies of the City of New York and his ready eloquence, which always served the cause of fairness and common-sense, was listened to with attention and enthusiasm. Perhaps nothing can better illustrate the deep impression he made upon the New York teachers than an incident which took place since his premature death. Some weeks after his decease two ladies came to the Rectory of his parish church. To the priest who answered their call they revealed themselves as two non-Catholic teachers in the public schools. They had learned of Mr. Kelly's death and this had reminded them of his great fairness, conscientiousness, kindness, and affability in all his dealing with school-teachers. They felt that this just and sympathetic conduct was due to the religion he professed and they had come to be instructed in the principles of his faith. Since then, we have been informed, both have been received into the Church.

Let us now turn to Mr. Kelly's work in behalf of Catholic interests. We do not propose here to write a eulogy on him. As a pious, convinced, and energetic Catholic he has saved us the trouble. We shall content ourselves with reciting the long list of Catholic works in which he was engaged as a vigorous and untiring participant. He was not only a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and of the Catholic Club, where he was always heartily welcomed by his fellow members, but also of the Catholic Summer School and of the Catholic Benevolent Legion, furthering with all his great ability the social, charitable, and educational interests of the Catholic community in New York. For many years he was a constant attendant at the meetings of the Xavier Alumni Sodality, which he never missed when in town. For two terms (1903-1904) he was its president. On the Sunday before he was seized by his fatal

illness, he was present at the communion meeting of the Sodality, though he was already suffering from the initial symptoms of the fatal disease.

Mr. Kelly enjoyed the friendship and esteem of both Archbishop Corrigan and Archbishop Farley, as also of Bishop Estrada of Havana and of Bishop Jones of Porto Rico, not to speak of many other prominent clergymen both here and in Cuba. How well he was thought of by the Church authorities and by the Catholic laity may be inferred from his having been many years trustee of the Cathedral, of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, of the New York Catholic Protectory, and of the Church of the Nativity. He was also one of the charter members and first treasurer of the Robert Appleton Company, which publishes the Catholic Encyclopedia.

In fact when we review the many offices of honor and trust held by him and at the same time bear in mind the immense amount of work imposed on him by his business duties, it is hard to suppress a feeling of wonder how Mr. Kelly found the time and energy to attend to all this multifarious work. Yet those who knew him, and especially we of the Catholic Historical Society, bear witness that Mr. Kelly not only performed these duties regularly and carefully, but that he was one of the leading spirits in all of the organizations with which he was connected.

Indeed it was to his devotion to duty that we must ascribe his premature death. When the crisis of 1907 convulsed the financial world of the metropolis, Mr. Kelly was on a business trip in Europe. When he returned he was met with the message that the Oriental Bank, with which he had had relations for many years, was in sore straits; that in fact the Clearing House officials were determined to close its doors unless Mr. Kelly consented to assume the presidency. This request was accompanied by assurances that in case he undertook the reorganization of the bank he would have the support of prominent financiers and institutions. Mr. Kelly, confiding in these assurances and overestimating his strength, accepted the burdensome office, for he was not the man to hesitate when the interests

of his friends were in question. With more than usual zeal and vigor he entered upon his task; night and day he worked to realize his plans, but the men in whom he trusted when he undertook to save the bank proved to be broken reeds. Still Mr. Kelly's undertaking can not be called a failure, for long before his last illness he could make the proud statement that every depositor in the Oriental Bank had received the last penny due him. But this success had been achieved by exhausting his naturally great vitality. He had fought the bold fight at the sacrifice of his life.

No picture of Mr. Kelly's life would be complete that would fail to speak of his family life. Mr. Kelly was a great merchant, a great financier, an energetic manager, a wise counselor, a thorough gentleman, and a true friend. But he was above all the loving, loyal husband and the affectionate, dutiful father. All who knew him bear testimony to his character as a genuine Christian, but only those completely appreciated his Christianity who had witnessed his home life. He had married a lady who was devoted to him with every fibre of her heart, modest, gentle, confiding, and proud of the man of her choice, and he was as enthusiastically fond of her, after more than a quarter of a century of married life, as he had been from the day he became her husband. He looked upon her as the cornerstone of his success, as the foundation of his happiness. She had rejoiced with him in his joy, she had more than once nursed him in illness. She had watched not only over his children but over himself; she had loved him with all her heart. And Mr. Kelly deserved our respect no less as a father than as a husband. When at home, his children were the source of his happiness and the idols of his affection. Like Mrs. Kelly, he cared but little for so-called social triumphs. The chief source of his delight was his home, the society of his wife and children. He was deeply interested in the rearing of his boys and girls and he showed his interest not merely by sending them to the best academies and colleges but by working for them and with them at their daily tasks. When after a day of toil he returned to his fireside, he was never too tired to inquire into each boy's

and girl's progress and to sit alongside of some troubled child and to clear up his difficulties. No man understood better than he that the greatest gift a father can bestow upon his child is not money, but his love; and that the most convincing proofs of his love are not luxury and finery, but his self-sacrificing toil and assistance.

Besides his widow, Mr. Kelly left behind him three sons and four daughters.

C. G. H.

REV. OTTO JERON, O.M.CAP.

FATHER Charles, (in religion, Father Otto) Jeron, O.M.Cap., for several years a member of the Historical Society, departed this life at the Capuchin Monastery at Mt. Calvary, Wis., on August 14, 1907, being then in his thirty-eighth year. Father Jeron was born November 24, 1870 at Wahlstatt, Silesia, and received his early education at the gymnasium in Breslau where his father was an inspector of schools. Later he was admitted to the university in that city where he made his studies with marked distinction. Coming to this country with a view of devoting himself to the religious life, he entered the Capuchin novitiate at St. Bonaventure's Monastery, Detroit, Mich., in January 1890. He made his solemn profession in 1894 and was ordained in 1896 by Archbishop Katzer of Milwaukee. Here he remained for four years, doing parish and missionary work, and was specially occupied in training the clerics of his community in singing and plain chant, for which he possessed decided talent. During the next three years, 1900-1903, he attended to the parish work of St. Joseph's parish at Appleton, Wis., where he employed his spare time in studying the early history of the Church in that section. He became a member of the Wisconsin State Historical Society and besides writing a history of his parish, which was published on the occasion of its jubilee celebration in 1902, he also contributed various articles to the press relating to early Church history in Wisconsin, the Indians, etc.

From Appleton he was sent in 1903 to New York to assist

in the parish work of the Church of Our Lady of Angels in charge of the Capuchin Fathers in East 113th St. There he applied himself with his usual zeal and industry to the varied and arduous work of a city parish until, in 1906, when, his health failing, his Superiors withdrew him from this field of labor and sent him to the monastery at Mt. Calvary, Wis., where it was hoped his health would be restored. After a brief rest his condition improved so far as to enable him to take up the work of teaching in the college of St. Lawrence, and he remained there as teacher of the classics until overtaken by his last illness, three days before his death.

Father Otto was of an active energetic disposition, but his physical constitution was weak and inadequate to the strain of his work. Intellectually cultured and affable in manner, he made friends wherever he went. His interest in the work of the United States Catholic Historical Society is shown by a contribution from his pen on the subject, "The Capuchins in America" which appears in preceding pages of the present number of the RECORDS AND STUDIES. He also wrote some articles for the Catholic Encyclopedia.

His early death will be lamented by his associates in the Society as well as by the brethren of his Order and his numerous friends of the laity whom he served so faithfully.

PETER CONDON, A.M.

MISS ROSINE M. PARMENTIER.

By the death, on January 30, 1908, at her residence, 342 Bridge street, Brooklyn, New York, of Miss Rosine M. Parmentier the Catholic Historical Society lost one of its most zealous members. She was the daughter of André Parmentier, a Belgian horticulturist and civil engineer, who came to New York from his native land in 1824, and settling in Brooklyn became active among the founders of St. James', the first Catholic church erected on Long Island, the mother-church of the present diocese of Brooklyn. A memoir of his life there, and of the Horticultural Garden

he established was printed in *HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES* (Volume III, Part II. December, 1904).

Miss Parmentier was born in Brooklyn in 1829. The Garden was located in what is now the Flatbush section of the Borough and was a beautiful rural estate of twenty-three acres. Her father died on November 30, 1830, and two years later the Flatbush estate was sold and the family moved into the fine old residence in Bridge Street in which she lived all the rest of her days. As a child she was sent to the primitive parish school that was started in the basement of St. James' Church. Then when the famous Madame de Gallitzen landed here from France, en route to New Orleans, in 1840, Mrs. Parmentier promised her that if she would come back to New York and start a school for the Religious of the Sacred Heart, Rosine should be her first pupil. Accordingly, when the school was opened in the old house at Mulberry and Houston streets, Rosine was sent there on October 4, 1841. Thence, as the convent was moved to Ravenswood, L. I., she went to the new location and spent four years at this school. Her mother and her sister Adèle (Madame Joseph Bayer) who was fifteen years her senior, devoted their lives and a large part of the income of the estate to works of charity and benevolence, in which disposition the younger daughter was an enthusiastic assistant. As their survivor she regarded her modest fortune as a sacred trust and guarded it carefully that it might be expended only in doing good. She was thoroughly imbued with the old-fashioned missionary spirit, and the propagation of the Faith and the encouragement of sound Catholic education were her constant solicitude. She kept in touch with all the questions of the day, domestic and foreign, that affected in the least the interests of the Church, and carried on in the details of her charities an extensive correspondence with missionaries and philanthropists in many distant parts of the world. Her keen intellect retained all its powers to the end and made her a delightful and entertaining authority on old New York and the happenings of its social and religious circles. She was much interested in the work of the Historical Society of which she

became a most practical member. Her will gave further evidence of her favor in a legacy of \$200 for the benefit of the Society. She died after a very brief illness — the last of her family — and her remains were buried, on Feb. 3, 1908, in the family vault, in St. Paul's churchyard, Brooklyn. Her will disposed of the family property — as she had always said had been agreed upon by her mother and sister — in charity and for Catholic education. The old residence in Bridge Street, and the property adjoining, it was directed should be used for a girl's school, the endowment of which was provided for by the other terms of the will.

THOMAS F. MEEHAN, A.M.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, NEW YORK. JANUARY 22, 1908

THE annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held this evening at the Catholic Club. Dr. Hochbermann presided.

The reading of the roll having been dispensed with, the minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer, Mr. Richard S. Treacy, read his annual report and the President appointed Messrs. Daly, Fargis, and Exler as a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

Mr. Beahm, Secretary then read the following report:

The members of this Society direct that at the annual meeting an official synopsis of the work done during the preceding year should be presented. To-night, however, marks the close of a period of ten years since the Society was reorganized. Your Secretary has accordingly considered that it may be well to extend the review, and to recall briefly—for the benefit especially of our newer members—some of the conditions that prevailed just previous to the reorganization.

“By such a retrospect we may obtain a more adequate idea of the progress and prosperity of the Society during the decade now ending.

“Confining myself strictly to the general records, I find as follows:

“Eight years after the establishment of the society, that is to say, in 1892, the financial condition seems to have become so poor that it was found necessary to make a special appeal to members and non-members for contributions, in order that the administration might be enabled to meet one of its obligations. It had been pledged to contribute \$250 toward the Columbian celebration, and there was not enough money in the general



PHOTOGRAPHY & COLOR CO. N.Y.

Charles George Herbermann

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The Treasurer, Mr. Richard S. Treacy, read his annual report and the President appointed Messrs. Daly, Fargis, and Lawler as a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

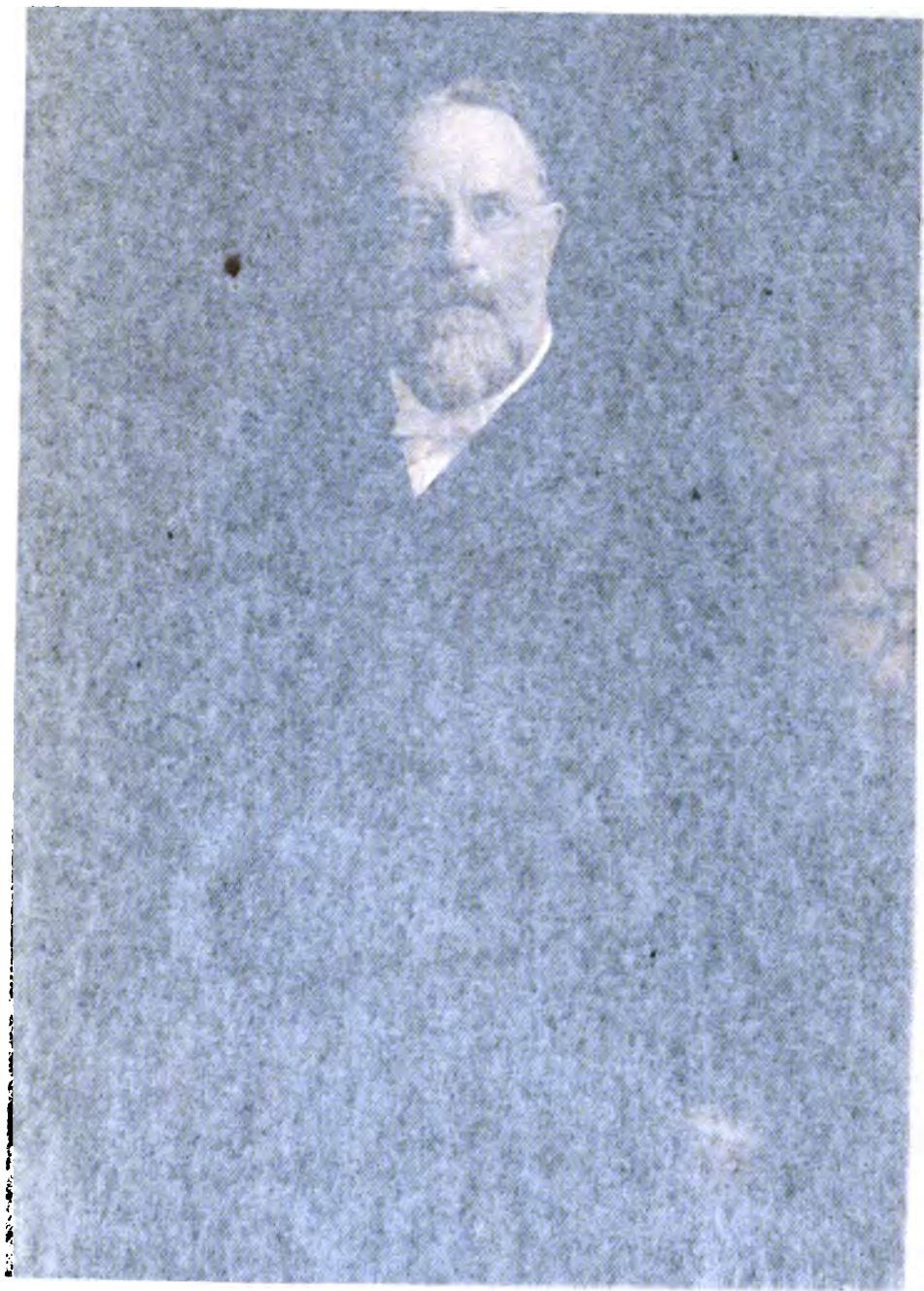
The Recording Secretary then read the following report:

"The by-laws of this Society direct that at the annual meetings an outline or synopsis of the work done during the preceding year shall be presented. To-night, however, marks the close of a period of ten years since the Society was reorganized. Your Secretary has accordingly considered that it may be well to extend the review, and to recall briefly — for the benefit especially of our newer members — some of the conditions that prevailed just previous to the reorganization.

"By such a retrospect we may obtain a more adequate idea of the progress and prosperity of the Society during the decade now ending.

"Confining myself strictly to the general records, I find as follows:

"Eight years after the establishment of the society, that is to say, in 1892, the financial condition seems to have become so poor that it was found necessary to make a special appeal to members and non-members for contributions, in order that the administration might be enabled to meet one of its obligations. It had been pledged to contribute \$329 toward the Columbian celebration, and there was not enough money in the general



Charles George Smith

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, NEW YORK JANUARY 22, 1908

THE annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held this evening at the Catholic Club. Dr. Herbermann presided.

The reading of the roll having been dispensed with, the minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer, Mr. Richard S. Treacy, read his annual report and the President appointed Messrs. Daly, Fargis, and Vetter as a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

The Recording Secretary then read the following report:

The officers of this Society direct that at the annual meeting a review of the synopsis of the work done during the preceding year should be presented. To-night, however, marks the close of a period of ten years since the Society was reorganized. Your Secretary has accordingly considered that it may be well to extend the review, and to recall briefly — for the benefit especially of our newer members — some of the conditions that prevailed just previous to the reorganization.

Only such a retrospect we may obtain a more adequate idea of the progress and prosperity of the Society during the decade now ending.

"Concerning myself strictly to the general records, I find as follows:

"Eight years after the establishment of the society, that is to say, in 1892, the financial condition seems to have become so poor that it was found necessary to make a special appeal to members and non-members for contributions, in order that the administration might be enabled to meet one of its obligations. It had been pledged to contribute \$219 toward the Columbian celebration, and there was not enough money in the general



PHOTOGRAPHY & COLOR CO. N.Y.

Charles George Herbermann

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fund to pay the debt. I find that sixteen months later the society discontinued the collection of the annual dues.

"At the meeting held April 23, 1894, it was ordered that 'the treasurer send out no bills at the present time.' So that during the years 1894, 1895, 1896, and 1897 the society had no revenue whatever beyond the interest received on the \$2,500 invested in bonds of the Catholic Club. If the society had any vitality during those years, the evidence is not found in the minute book. If any meetings of its Executive Council took place between April 23, 1894, and November 27, 1897, there are no records to indicate the fact. On December 20, 1897, a special meeting of the Executive Council was held at this club. It had been called for the specific purpose of 'considering ways and means for continuing the active life of the society.' At that meeting the treasurer reported a cash balance on hand of \$707.21, being for the most part the accumulation of interest on the \$2,500 invested by the society in bonds of the Catholic Club. The treasurer also reported that of the twenty-five life members, six were known to be dead, and he believed that of the active members who had paid dues in 1893, only twenty-five were living and could be counted upon to renew their membership.

"This was the condition of our affairs, as disclosed by the minutes at the end of the year 1897. It would appear that those in charge had lost all hope of improvement.

"His Grace, the Most Rev. Archbishop Corrigan, was certainly not of the number. It was his desire to see Dr. Herbermann placed at the head of affairs and a thorough reorganization effected. His Grace presided at the annual meeting held on Feb. 7, 1898. Dr. Herbermann was elected president of the society. The collection of dues was re-established, the annual amount being reduced from ten dollars to five, and prosperity began. That he has demonstrated the wisdom of our choice by the incomparable excellence of his work is self-evident. Before the end of his first term eighty-nine new members were admitted; Part I of Vol. I of our series of HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES was published; the current ex-

penses were met, and the balance in the treasury increased by \$120. Every year since has been marked by the same or greater prosperity.

"We began with a promised active membership of twenty-five; yet only eight of the number answered the call to the annual meeting of ten years ago, and three of the eight resigned soon afterward. Our membership to-day is 539. We began with a total balance in the treasury of \$3,207, which includes the par value of the Catholic Club bonds. To-day we possess at least \$5,000 more, over and above all liabilities. The library of every member has been enriched with many volumes of exceptional value. In all 2,865 pages of Catholic American history have been published, after the most careful scrutiny on behalf of truth and propriety. No year has passed without a public lecture. But your president is nothing if not a philosopher. His preference is invariably for the written word. *'Verba volant; manent scripta.'*

"Perhaps I should not say it, yet it is true, that he has been fortunate in drawing around him in his work the most loyal and most generous of co-workers from among the alumni of St. Francis Xavier's. And this reminds me of that other great work of ours. My successor twenty or more years hence will count its pages for you. Meanwhile all I can say to you is that our president, with the aid of other good members of this society, such as the Rev. Fathers Wynne and Campbell, S.J., Rev. Dr. Shahan, Dr. Conde B. Pallen, and others are hard at work on the most ambitious of volumes, and they call it by no less a name than 'The Catholic Encyclopedia.'

"But coming back again to pure statistics, I find from the record that of all the many meetings of the literary committee, Executive Council, or public or private meetings of the United States Catholic Historical Society held during the past ten years, there was not one at which your president failed to represent you in person. There is still another item of record that I am sure will interest you. It is that of the nineteen members of the Executive Council elected in 1898, Dr. Herbermann is not the only one who has given us ten years of

continuous service. A debt of gratitude for such a service is due also to the Right Rev. Monsignor McGean.

"All this, however, is but the dry statistical side of the record — a mere inventory of our material growth and achievements. What the moral value of the whole may be; what its relation is to American Catholicity; what we may have accomplished in any degree in the interest of religion and for the greater glory of God — this it will be the province of others here present to conjecture."

The President then addressed the Society, expressing his thanks to the Executive Council for their active co-operation during the year. A special debt of gratitude, he said, was due to Mr. Farrelly, for his marvelous and successful efforts in securing new members for the Society.

Dr. Herbermann announced that he had received a valuable series of books as a donation to the Society.

The following persons were then proposed for membership and all were regularly elected.

Proposed by Mr. Farrelly:—Patrick J. Fox, 437 W. 162d St.; Rev. Christopher E. Byrne, Edina, Mo.; J. H. Sullivan, Richmond, Ky.

By Mr. Fargis:—James Tully, 271 Broadway.

By Rt. Rev. Mgr. McGean:—Rt. Rev. Mgr. Murphy, 503 E. 14th St.

The Society then proceeded to the election of officers for the new year. The ticket presented by the Executive Council was unanimously elected, as follows:

<i>President,</i>	Charles G. Herbermann, Ph.D., LL.D., Lit.D.
<i>Vice-President,</i>	Stephen Farrelly.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	Richard S. Treacy, A.M.
<i>Recording Secretary,</i>	John E. Cahalan, A.M.
<i>Corresponding Secretary,</i>	Joseph H. Fargis, A.M.
<i>Librarian,</i>	Rev. M. J. Considine.

Trustees:

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Joseph F. Mooney, V.G., Rt. Rev. Mgr. James H. McGean, LL.D., Henry Heide, Hugh Kelly, LL.D., Thos. S. O'Brien, LL.D., Peter Condon, A.M., Thomas F. Meehan, A.M.

Councillors:

Hon. Edw. B. Amend, LL.D., Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., William R. King, Edward J. McGuire, A.M., Rev. John J. Burke, C.S.P., Rev. Joseph F. Delaney, D.D.

After the election Rt. Rev. Mgr. McGean arose and stated that he had a special resolution to offer, and as it concerned the President, he would request that gentleman to yield the chair for the present to Vice-President Farrelly.

This being done, Mgr. McGean proceeded to read the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, the United States Catholic Historical Society has this evening elected Charles G. Herbermann, Ph.D., LL.D., Lit.D., as its President for the eleventh successive term, and

Whereas, the Society has been notably successful in accomplishing its objects during the several years of his tenure of office, which fact is evidenced by a ten-fold increase in membership, and by the many and important publications of the Society which have been issued during those years, now therefore

Be it resolved, that it is the sense of the Society that this success is due in great measure to the learning and efficiency of him whom we again call its President, and to his constant and untiring exertions toward the accomplishment of the purposes of the Society;

Resolved, that we recognize in Dr. Herbermann's executive ability and in his unselfish devotion to the interests of Catholic historical truth, a power and influence which have attracted Catholic writers to the service of the Society and thereby secured many valuable historical contributions that otherwise might have been lost;

Resolved, that his broad-mindedness, his generosity, and his courtesy have merited and have won for him the respect and affection of all our associates;

Resolved, that we record our gratification upon his re-election as President for another term, and that we tender him our congratulations upon that event, as well as on the fact that he has been selected as editor-in-chief of that monumental work of our day, "The Catholic Encyclopedia," now in course of publication, which will contain many historical facts that were first made known through the pages of our RECORDS AND STUDIES, likewise edited by our President;

And be it further resolved, that, in the name of the United States Catholic Historical Society, a loving-cup be presented to him as a token of our esteem and affection; that these resolutions be recorded in the minutes of our Society, and that an engrossed copy be delivered to our honored President, Charles G. Herbermann, Ph.D., LL.D., Lit.D.

The resolutions were very eloquently seconded by Mr. Peter Condon, and carried unanimously.

The silver loving-cup was then brought forward and presented to Dr. Herbermann, who promptly arose to express his gratitude. But being totally unprepared for such an earnest demonstration, he was manifestly at a loss to find words at all commensurate with the intensity of his feelings.

It was then announced that Rt. Rev. Mgr. Charles W. Collins of Portland would deliver the annual lecture and that the subject would be "Governor Kavanagh of Maine."

A committee consisting of Messrs. Phelan, Fargis, and O'Brien was appointed to secure a large attendance at the lecture.

The meeting then adjourned.

JOHN E. CAHALAN,
Recording Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

RICHARD S. TREACY, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE U. S. CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1907		1907		Cr.	
Feb. 8	To Balance, as per last report.....	Dr.	\$7,067.21	June 7	By PUBLICATIONS. etc. A. Bandeller's ar- ticle in Vol. V, Part I, Records and Studies \$175.00
	To PUBLICATIONS.			July 8	Benziger Bros., print- ing, binding and for- warding to members 750 copies Records and Studies, Vol. IV, Part I..... Postage, etc. of vol- umes from Dec. 18, 1905, to Dec. 3, 1906 John E. Cahalan, ex- penses for typewrit- ing translations, Fr. De Smet Letters, Vol. V, Part I..... Nov. 30
	Sales	\$6.00			Heliz & Mündel, Stras- bourg, partpayment, facsimile plates, Waldseemüller Vol- ume
	To DUES.				\$109.13
	Receipts for 1908.....	\$5.00		Dec. 5	Cablegram to Rev. Fr. Flecher.....\$5.25
	" " 1904.....	10.00		" 20	Photogravure & Color Co.....\$62.20
	" " 1905.....	20.00			176.58
	" " 1906.....	100.00			\$1,276.75
	" " 1907.....	1,704.97			
	" " 1908.....	85.00	1,874.97		
	To DONATIONS.				
	Contribution by Most Rev. Archbishop Farley	100.00			
	To INTEREST.				
	On Deposit in Fifth Ave. Trust Co.	11.26			
	Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank.....	70.54			
	Fifth Ave. Trust Co., Certificate.....	70.00			
	East River Savings Bank	117.74	269.54		
			2,250.51		

TREASURER'S REPORT

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BY ANNUAL MEETING.	
May 1 Catholic Club, buffet luncheon.....	41.65
July 8 Benziger Bros. printing and mailing notices.....	20.00
	<u>61.65</u>
BY LIBRARY	
Sept. 28 E. Scheunig, binding 20 volumes.....	35.00
Oct. 18 Rev. M. J. Considine, expenses, bookcases and expressage.....	43.00
	<u>78.00</u>
BY MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.	
" 1 Stephen Farrelly, expenses, printing, etc.	67.50
Nov. 18 Stephen Farrelly, expenses, printing, etc.	47.50
	<u>115.00</u>
BY GENERAL EXPENSES.	
May 16 Rec Sec'y. expenses, Jan. 14, 1906, to May 14, 1907.....	5.98
" 80 Engrossing resolutions, etc.....	3.00
Nov. 18 President, expenses, expressage and stationery.....	10.00
1908	
Jan. 14 Treasurer, stationery, postage and exchange on checks.....	24.92
	<u>43.75</u>
BALANCE ON HAND JANUARY 22, 1908.	1,576.15
Fifth Ave. Trust Co., Certificate.....	2,370.00
Fifth Ave. Trust Co., balance of deposit....	2,892.64
East River Savings Bank.....	3,082.47
Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank.....	1,817.46
	<u>7,742.57</u>
	<u>\$9,817.72</u>

RICHARD S. TREACY, *Treasurer*.
January 22, 1908.

NEW YORK, January 27, 1908.

We hereby certify that we have examined the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers and find the above report correct.

JOSEPH F. DALY, } *Auditing*
THOMAS B. LAWLER, } *Com.*
JOSEPH H. FARON,

\$9,817.72

DONATIONS.

WE RETURN our heartfelt thanks to Miss Mary M. Deitsch, to whose kindness and courtesy the United States Catholic Historical Society is indebted for the following very valuable works, from the library of Miss Rosine Parmentier, to whose generosity, both during her lifetime and at her decease, our Society owed many favors:

SHEA, JOHN GILMARY. Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley with the Original Narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membre, Hennepin, and Anastase Douay. 8vo. New York, 1852.

LE MAISTRE, COMTE JOSEPH. Letters on the Spanish Inquisition. 12mo. Boston, 1830.

DUBOURG, REV. J. HUEN. Life of Cardinal de Cheverus. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1859.

PRANDI, FORTUNATO. Memoirs of Fr. Ripa during Thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Peking in the Service of the Emperor of China; with an Account of the Foundation of the College for the Education of Young Chinese at Naples. 8vo. New York and London, 1849.

BAYLEY, RT. REV. JAMES ROOSEVELT, D.D. Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. Simon Wm. Gabriel Brute, D.D. 12mo. New York, 1861.

THE JESUIT IN INDIA. 32mo. London, 1852.

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